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*PLACE:*

BOSTON

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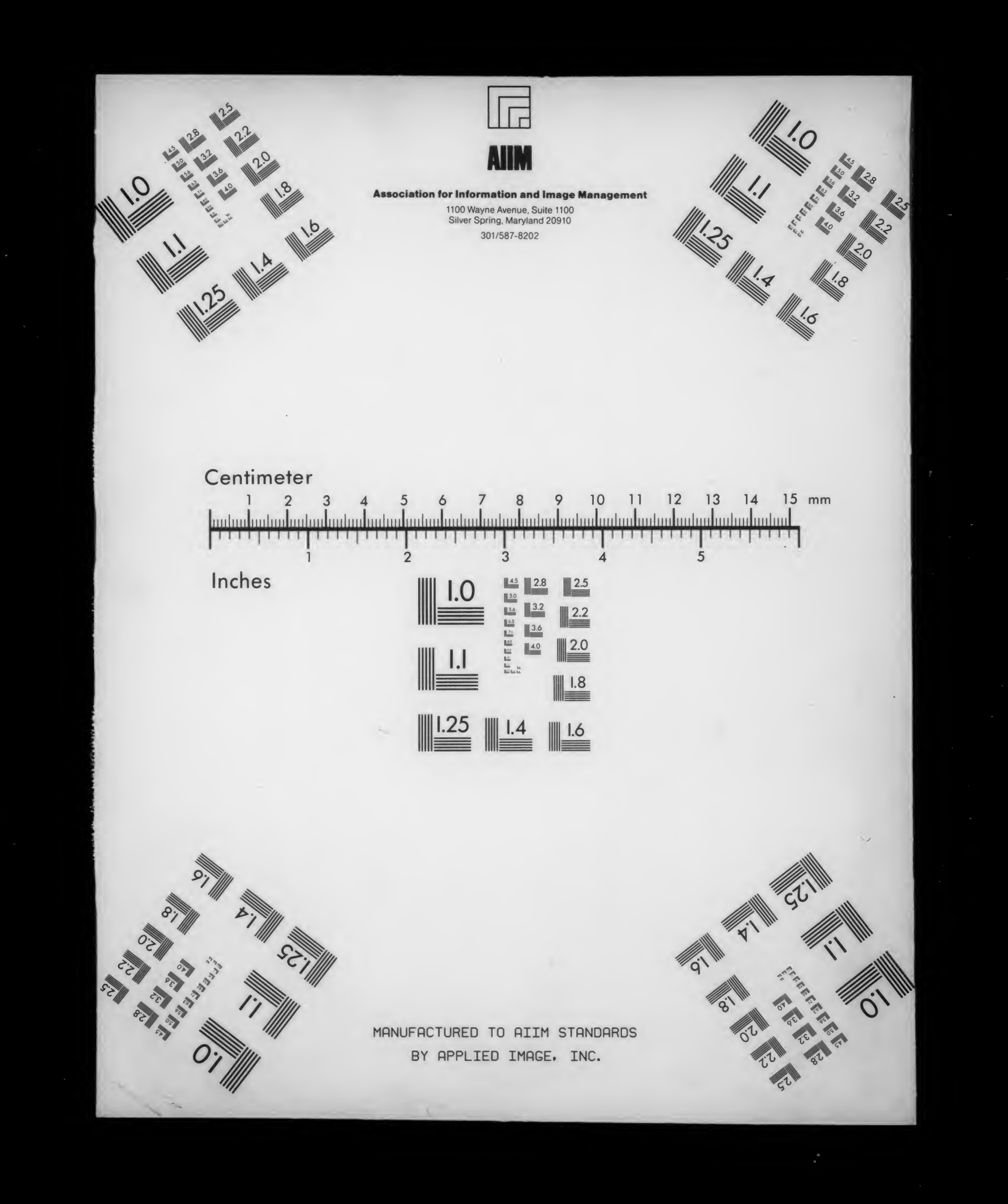
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# HORACE

## SATIRES AND EPISTLES

EDITED

ON THE BASIS OF KIESSLING'S EDITION

BY

JAMES H. KIRKLAND, A.M., PH.D.
PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

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# PREFACE.

AMONG recent editions of Horace none has received such high praise as that of Professor Kiessling, and I feel very grateful for the permission, so cordially given, to make his edition the basis of my own. I have, however, not attempted to translate Kiessling's commentary, and this edition will be found to differ not infrequently from his both in text and notes. I desire to emphasize this fact here, inasmuch as no attention is called to these points of difference in the Notes. If errors, therefore, are found in my work, they are probably my own, not Professor Kiessling's.

My purpose has been to supply the student more liberally than has heretofore been done in American editions with such information as is needed for the full understanding and enjoyment of our author. Dean Milman says, in his Life of Horace, that "whoever really understands Horace will have a more perfect and accurate knowledge of the Roman manners and Roman mind than the most diligent and laborious investigator of the Roman antiquities." To facilitate such a thorough study of Horace, it has been deemed advisable to furnish full notes on those parts of the Satires and Epistles that are usually read in our American colleges, and to leave the remainder without comment. In carrying out this plan, no doubt some satires

or epistles have been omitted that others would prefer to see annotated; but it is hoped that the present selection will be, for the most part, approved. Besides Kiessling, I have had at hand and have freely used nearly all the principal editions of Horace, from Lambinus and Cruquius to Lucian Müller. No claim, therefore, of originality is made for the commentary; I shall be quite satisfied if my notes are found helpful and instructive.

I desire to express my sincere thanks to several scholars who have helped me in the present publication: to Professor Paul Shorey, who read a part of my work in manuscript and made a number of valuable suggestions; to Professor E. H. Spieker, who has read the whole proof with great care and patience; and to Professor E. M. Pease, to whose careful and thorough criticism every page of my notes has been subjected, and always to their gain.

J. H. KIRKLAND.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,
May, 1893.

# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

# SATIRES AND EPISTLES OF HORACE.

The word 'satire' is derived from *satura*, the feminine form of the adjective *satur*. As applied to literature the full expression may have been originally *fabula satura*, a term which conveys the idea of medley, that is, a story or rather dialogue, of miscellaneous contents. The derivation of 'farce' from *farcio* "to stuff," may be cited as somewhat analogous. In illustration of this use of *satura* we may compare its use with two other words, *lanx* and *lex*. The grammarians tell us that *lanx satura* meant a dish filled with the first fruits to be offered to the gods, and Varro, in similar spirit, applied the term *satura* to a dish of food composed of various ingredients. In legal matters the term *per saturam* was often used to refer to a law that included at once a number of separate provisions, and Diomedes explains this phrase by the ellipsis of *legem*.

This miscellaneous nature was especially characteristic of satire in its earliest period. At this time the term *satura* was applied to a kind of dramatic performance, largely improvised, and with musical accompaniment. It was without regular plot, but filled with spicy dialogue, enlivened with pantomimic gesticulation. The battle of wit between Sarmentus and Messius on the journey to Brundisium has been cited as affording an illustration of what this early satire may have been.

With the fuller development of theatrical performances under the influence of the Greek drama, the dramatic *satura* perished, but the name was appropriated by Ennius for a special kind of

literary composition. The transition from the boards to the poet's study cannot be traced continuously, but the appropriateness of the term *satura* is well attested by the very miscellaneous character of the compositions of Ennius. The metres were as varied as the colors of Joseph's coat, and the subjects treated shifted as scenes in a kaleidoscope. Philosophy, history, mythology, and gastronomy passed successively under the poet's pen. From the old dramatic *satura* the element of dialogue was preserved, for Quintilian speaks of his introducing a contest between Life and Death. The fable, too, was made use of, for Aulus Gellius tells how Aesop's fable of the lark and the husbandman was skilfully and gracefully worked into a *satura* by Ennius. This reminds Nettleship of the way Horace uses the fable of the town and country mouse. Ennius was succeeded in this department of literature by his nephew Pacuvius, of whose *saturae*, however, next to nothing is known.

But it was Lucilius (180–103 B.C.) who turned satire into that groove which it has kept with little divergence ever since. Lucilius did not break entirely with the old satire of Ennius. The form of dialogue was largely preserved; the subject-matter was not narrowly restricted, and the tendency towards digressions remained as strong as ever. As to metre, he used trochaics, elegiacs and iambics, but in most of his writings the hexameter prevailed, and this after him was accepted as the proper form of verse for satire. But the chief work of Lucilius was in giving to satire a critical tendency, which was based on reason, not passion, and which was therefore ethical in its nature. This it is that distinguishes Roman satire from the personal satire of the Greek iambic writers, as Archilochus, Simonides, or Hipponax. The tone of criticism varied according to the mood of the writer from gentle remonstrance to stern invective. This is the form of literature which Quintilian claims as altogether Roman, but which Horace, studying critically the development of literary history, attributes to the influence of Greek comedy. And both are right. The study of comedy, both the old political comedy with its violent drubbing of public characters and the



newer comedy of manners with its unmannered exaggeration of social and domestic evils, undoubtedly had its effect on one so heavily charged with the new learning as Lucilius. And yet Quintilian is not wrong in claiming this as a peculiarly Roman development. Raillery was a chief element in the early Italian germs of the drama, and with the spirit of satire all Roman literature is imbued. As Cruttwell says (Hist. Rom. Lit. p. 75): "Tragedy, so far as we can judge, rose to her clearest tones in branding with contempt the superstitions of the day. The epic verses of Ennius are not without traces of the same power. The prose of Cato abounds with sarcastic reflections, pointedly expressed. The arguments of Cicero's theological and moral treatises are largely sprinkled with satire. The whole poem of Lucretius is deeply imbued with it: few writers of any age have launched more fiery sarcasm upon the fear of death, or the blind passion of love, than he has done in his third and fourth books. Even the gentle Virgil breaks forth at times into earnest invective, tipped with the flame of satire. Lucan and Seneca affect a style which, though grotesque, is meant to be satirical; while at the close of the classical period, Tacitus transforms the calm domain of history into satire, more burning because more suppressed than that of any of his predecessors."

The times, too, in which Lucilius lived were peculiarly favorable to the development of satire. No doubt there are object lessons enough at every time for the cynic, the satirist, the preacher, yet the days of the Gracchi were especially rich in such material. It was an age of ferment, when the new wine was bursting the old bottles. Men were opening their eyes to see and their lips to condemn. The words *senatus* and *nobiles* would not do to conjure with longer, either at home or abroad. Rome's armies were inefficient, her generals incompetent, her politicians venal, and that manly virtue which had distinguished her citizens in earlier days was passing away under the seductive influence of wealth and luxury. And so satire becomes more severe, and busies itself with public men and affairs of state.

Between Lucilius and Horace there was no successful attempt made in this department of literature. Varro of Reate wrote satires, but we know little of them. Sevius Nicanor is but a name. Lenaeus attacked Sallust most bitterly in defence of his patron, Pompey the Great. Horace mentions as his predecessors, "Varro Atacinus et quosdam alios" (S. 1. 10. 46), meaning by the latter expression either those just mentioned or Albucius, who, as Varro says, wrote little books after the manner of Lucilius.

In the preceding sketch we have omitted to mention the Menippean satire, which was introduced at Rome by Varro, and cultivated at a much later date by Petronius. The name is taken from the cynic, Menippus of Gadara (about 250 B.C.), whom Varro imitated without translating. The form of this Menippean satire was a mixture of prose and verse, and the varied nature of the contents reminds us of the chaotic character of the satires of Ennius. Horace must have known and read the Saturae Menippeae of Varro, but his indebtedness to them was doubtless slight and can hardly be traced in his writings.

Horace began to write satire soon after his return to Rome on the defeat of the Republican party. By nature and education he was well fitted for a literary career. All that the schools of Rome and a father's tender care could do for him had been done, and about the year 45 B.C. he went to Athens to pursue his studies in literature and philosophy. His life there was rudely interrupted by Brutus's call to arms, the last *reveille* of the doomed republic. Philippi clipped the soaring patriot's wings, and sent him home to obscurity and poverty. For his immediate necessities he provided by securing a position as *scriba* or clerk in a Quaestor's office. His very poverty and obscurity were incentives to literary activity. No prudential motives restrained him. He had nothing to lose even should he give vent to his naturally hot temper, or season his *satura* with the bitter herbs of his own garden. Contemporary history told him that the battle was to the strong, and so, impelled by poverty, he had the boldness to begin. Perhaps the 16th Epode or Satire 1. 2 may have been among the productions of this early period. That Horace selected satire as his field of labor was not owing, as he suggests, to the preoccupation of other fields by Fundanius, Pollio, Vergil, and the rest, any more than it can be explained by the geographical situation of Venusia and the warlike habits of his ancestors. The true explanation is to be found in Horace's own temperament and in the peculiarities of his early training. While he was yet a lad, his father acted as his companion through the streets of Rome, and bade him mark the follies and vices of that great Vanity Fair, that he might shun them. And so the son of Albius, and Barrus, and Scetanus bore aloft a light that warned him to seek safety in another direction. This habit of observation and personal criticism clung to him through life, and gave him many a subject with which to point a moral or enforce a warning. And yet Horace's satires are by no means bitter. They lack in a large measure that spirit of invective that characterized Lucilius. He does not write to wound. His anger is quickly aroused, but easily appeased. His hand may be raised to strike, but ere it descends a roguish smile plays round his lips and a gentle admonition takes the place of a blow. Another point in which he differs from Lucilius is in the exclusion of politics from his censorious supervision. Horace had enough of fighting at Philippi. Though not immediately won for Augustus, he had the good sense to see that the days of the republic were ended. When even Pollio's voice was hushed, why should Flaccus speak? Over the hot coals left from the civil conflagration time was spreading a covering of ashes, but Horace knew better than to walk on them or stir them up. In fact, he did not busy himself at all with politics. Not even when he had been adopted into the circle of Maecenas, did he show any aspirations in that direction, or attempt to secure his own preferment. Life as he saw it about him afforded him opportunity enough to fill his tablets. Avarice, with the greed of a vampire, was sucking the life-blood of Rome's most energetic citizens. Im-

morality openly displayed itself in every station. Parvenus, gormandizers, usurers, spendthrifts and adulterers jostled the poet on every street corner, and literary bores and selfish aspirants for Macaenas's favor spoiled his morning walk. Though the names that Horace uses may have been as old as Lucilius or may have labelled some monument that adorned the Appian way, yet the characters and scenes described are photographs from daily life. It will thus be seen that Horace's satires represent a reaction when compared with Lucilius. Indeed, we often miss entirely the sting of severer satire, while the poet's pen rushes along in a stream of garrulous gossip, giving us now some general philosophic or literary reflections, now some exquisite idyllic description of his own life.

No poet enters into a more intimate relation with his readers than Horace. We feel that we know him, and we love him as a friend. While he reproves others he does not spare himself, but candidly confesses his sins and smiles at his own follies. We see him in all the detail of his life: as he stretches himself and opens his eyes in the morning and calls for book and tablet, as he reads, walks, visits Maecenas, plays ball, bathes and dines, or in the cool afternoon loafs idly around the Circus or the Forum. His friends are ours, his home is ours, and the rural quiet of his Sabine farm brings peace and contentment to our spirits as well as his. In form Horace avails himself frequently of the dialogue, that old inheritance of the dramatic *satura*. Sometimes his scenes are so vivid that they could be put on the stage almost without a change. Again he addresses the reader, passing into the epistolary style. He enlivens his writings with fable and anecdote, while every page sparkles with some play of wit, some piece of sarcasm, some specimen of humor. However much the tone or scene may shift, he never fails to be light, graceful, and entertaining, and he often closes a train of reflection or comment with a humorous turn so sudden that we can almost see the twinkle in his eye as he watches our surprise.

We may assume without detailed argument that the two



books of Satires were published separately. The first one seems to have been given to the world in 35 B.C., and the second in 30 B.C. The dates of the individual Satires are discussed in the notes.

About the same time as the second book of Satires the Epodes were published. Lyric poetry next claimed his attention, and the first three books of the Odes were published in 23 B.C. It is plain from the epilogue that closes the third book of the Odes that with this publication he regarded his *carmina* as complete, and so he turns to more serious studies. The fires of love had burned themselves into ashes. The glow of youth was succeeded by the calmer tone of maturer manhood. The study of philosophy and his own reflection had purified his spirit and given him clearer views of life and its real meaning. This maturer mood finds expression in his Epistles, which resemble both in matter and form the writings of his earlier years. But these later poems are not satires. The sting has been extracted from his *stilus*. The gentler spirit, which marks the second book of his Satires as opposed to the first, is here still more prominent. Increase of years has brought calmness and discretion, and prosperity has not allowed the wine of life to turn to vinegar. But though Horace is now the favorite of Maecenas and the flattered poet of Rome's most cultured circles, yet he feels that life has deeper needs than can be thus satisfied. Self-control, independence of outward circumstances, freedom of spirit, can alone bring peace and happiness. The Epistles give us, then, what we may call Horace's philosophy of life, or, if philosophy is too technical a term, we may rather use the expression "art of living." This is the central thought, the motive, that runs through them all. And so, though cast in the form of letters, they are the vehicle for the greatest variety of ideas. Especially the letters of the first book have a most diverse character. Epistles 17, 18, and 19 hardly differ from satires. Others, again, are more like essays in which some special theme is treated. Thus, in the first he gives Maecenas his views of

philosophy, and in the second he treats Lollius to a similar discussion suggested by the reading of Homer. Of similar nature is the sixth, addressed to one Numicius, of whom we know nothing. The fourteenth is nominally addressed to the overseer of his farm, but is meant to give expression to his love of the country. The tenth and sixteenth treat of the same topic. On the other hand, many of them are true letters, only clad in poetic dress. Such are Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15. The Epistles are rightly considered the maturest and best expression of Horace's character. In them he lays bare the secrets of his heart, disclosing a nature frank and generous, with high ideals, yet with human frailties. His friendship is always sincere and elevating in its purposes. His views of life are practical, and his philosophy a rule of conduct rather than a theory of thought. The Epistles of the second book discuss in the main literary topics. They give us some views that are peculiarly personal to the poet, but contain at the same time much that is of permanent value.

In diction the Epistles are light and graceful, yet chaste and dignified. The tone is more elevated than that of the Satires, but there are still found many traces of the familiar language of life. Archaisms sometimes occur, but the coarser vein of the Satires is entirely absent.

As a form of literature the poetic epistle is as old as Archilochus. Spurius Mummius, brother of Lucius Mummius, the commander, wrote from his camp at Corinth (146 B.C.) to his friends in Rome letters in verse that satisfied even the critical taste of Cicero. Lucilius undoubtedly used the same form in some of his Satires, and Catullus answers a letter of his friend Mallius in elegiac measure (No. 68). It is not certain what title Horace meant to give his Epistles. He uses the term *epistola* in Ep. 2. 222, but it is not clear that he meant it to refer to a poetic composition. The term *sermones* as used in Ep. 2. 1. 250 may include the Epistles as well as the Satires, but in Ep. 1. 4. 1 it refers to the Satires alone. In adopting the title *Epistolae*, we follow the Mss. and the testimony of the scholiasts. The date of



publication of Bk. I is fixed by Ep. 20 as the summer of 20 B.C. (see Introd. to that Ep.). Aside from this there are very few clear references to fix the dates of the individual epistles. We may assume the publication of the three Books of the Odes as the *terminus a quo*. For the dates of the two epistles of Bk. II see the introductions to each. That these two epistles were published together as one book is a matter of tradition only, and in so printing them we follow the Mss. and the scholiasts.

The title of Horace's Satires seems to have been *sermones* rather than *saturae*. Such is the testimony of the scholiasts, the manuscripts, and the grammarians (see note on Ep. 1. 4. 1). The term *satura* is used S. 2. 1. 1, but Horace is there speaking of a department of literature. By calling these poems *sermones* he probably meant to emphasize their prosaic character as imitations of conversations. The use of the French word *causeries* as a literary term has been aptly cited by way of illustration.

## Language of the Satires and Epistles.[1]

A literary language is always a more or less artificial development. There is here an evolution very much as in the growth of social customs. Cultured speech is gradually moulded into literary form, and finds its use in poetry, philosophy, or oratory. But the natural tendency of the literary dialect is to become artificial and mechanical, to erect a wall of exclusion around itself, while the speech of every-day life moves along its own line of development. Thus the differences between the two dialects may often become quite marked. The extent of this sep-

[1] This synopsis is based on two pamphlets by Prof. F. Barta, *Sprachliche Studien zu den Satiren des Horaz*, Linz, 1879 and 1881. Use has also been made of Rebling, *Versuch einer Characteristik der röm. Umgangssprache*, and of an unpublished dissertation by Dr. Hanns Oertel, Instructor in German in Yale University, which was very kindly placed at my disposal by the author. The title of Dr. Oertel's dissertation is, *De cottidiani atque volgaris sermonis in Q. Horatii Flacci sermonibus vestigiis. Accedit de vē- praefixi origine et significatione brevis disputatio.*

aration is hard to determine in languages known mainly from pieces of classic literature, but for Latin we are aided by the survival of works that keep a more or less plebeian or colloquial tone. Such are the comedies of Plautus and Terence, the more personal letters of Cicero, the Satires of Horace, and the writings of Petronius. Inscriptions, too, afford considerable aid to the same end, while the Romance tongues, derived as they are from the spoken and not from the literary language, suggest colloquial peculiarities that would otherwise have been unknown. In the Satires Horace almost disclaims any pretensions to poetry. His muse does not soar, but crawls along the ground. His language, therefore, as we should expect, admits much that would be unbecoming in higher styles, and shows many traces of the familiar speech of daily life.

The peculiarities of this '*sermo familiaris*' as used by Horace cannot be indicated by broad and general features; they are matters of detail affecting more particularly the vocabulary and phraseology of the author. Sometimes we find a preservation of archaic forms or words. Again, many of the expressions are what we would call slang, being peculiar turns or applications of common words. Others are coarse and vulgar, taken from the streets with the filth of their home clinging to them. Others are but the free and familiar phrases of careless and unliterary speech. Without attempting to separate with precision or accurately label these various elements, we give a synopsis of some of the peculiarities of the language of Horace's Satires, adding, too, references to the Epistles whenever appropriate.

## I.

### Pronunciation.

The sound of *o* is substituted for *au* in *plostrum* S. 1. 6. 42, *plostellum* S. 2. 3. 247; *cole* S. 2. 4. 15. There was a decided tendency towards this change in early Latin, but it had little permanent effect on cultured speech. The same change occurs at a later period in the development from Latin to the various



Romance dialects. Suetonius (Vesp. 22) says that Vespasian said *plostrum* for *plaustrum*, and the same form occurs frequently in old inscriptions. Outside of the Satires Horace uses the regular form, and keeps *au* in other words that elsewhere suffered the same change of *au* to *o*, as *caupo* S. 1. 1. 29; S. 1. 5. 9; *cauda* S. 1. 2. 45. See Seelman, *Aussprache d. Lat.* p. 162.

## II.

### Forms.

1. Aphaeresis: *Gnatia* S. 1. 5. 97 for *Egnatia*. Examples of the omission of the initial vowel sound are not infrequent both in Greek and Latin. Compare *sparagus* for *asparagus* Th. Prisc. 1. 5; *scultatores* for *auscultatores* Veget. Mil. 2. 12; *storia* for *historia* Schol. Juv. 7. 99 and 103; *Spanus* for *Hispanus* Arnob. 5. 24.

2. Syncopated forms: *soldum* S. 1. 2. 113; *caldior* S. 1. 3. 53; *periclum* S. 1. 2. 40; *surpite* S. 2. 3. 283; *vincla* Ep. 1. 7. 67; *lamna* Ep. 1. 15. 36; *valdius* Ep. 1. 9. 6. Such forms occur even in the Odes and Epodes, as *puertia* Od. 1. 36. 8; *lamna* Od. 2. 2. 2; *repostum* Epod. 9. 1.

3. Case forms: *mi* for *mihi* occurs Ep. 1. 18. 112 and nine times in the Satires; *quis* for *quibus* occurs Epod. 11. 9 and seven times in the Satires.

4. Verbal forms: here belong two classes of forms: *a*) the remains of the old aorist forms, as *erepsemus* S. 1. 5. 79 (see note); *surrexe* S. 1. 9. 73; *divisse* S. 2. 3. 169; *evasti* S. 2. 7. 68; *percusti* S. 2. 3. 273; *faxis* S. 2. 3. 38; *ausim* S. 1. 10. 48.

*b*) The pass. inf. in *-ier*. This form was frequent in Plautus and Terence and in legal and religious language. It occurs nine times in Horace: five times in the Satires, three times in the Epistles, and once in the Odes. See note on S. 2. 8. 67.

## III.

### Words.

1. Rare words: some of these we know were characteristic of the *sermo familiaris*, while of others we may infer the same thing. Some of them appear for the first time in Horace (marked †), and some (marked *) are ἅπαξ εἰρημένα.

*a*) Nouns: *bucca = os* S. 1. 1. 21; *caballus* S. 1. 6. 59 and 103; Ep. 1. 7. 88; Ep. 1. 14. 43; Ep. 1. 18. 36; *caliendrum* S. 1. 8. 48; *catillus* S. 1. 3. 90; S. 2. 4. 75; *cerebrum = animus iratus* S. 2. 3. 75; *ciniflo** S. 1. 2. 98; *cubital*† S. 2. 3. 255; *hilla* S. 2. 4. 60; *octussis*† S. 2. 3. 156; *rivalis* A. P. 444; formations with *ve-*, as *vesania* S. 2. 3. 174.

*b*) Adjectives: *abnormis** S. 2. 2. 3; *elutius* S. 2. 4. 16; *incretum* S. 2. 4. 75; *ingustata** S. 2. 8. 30; *ocreatus* S. 2. 3. 234; formations with *ve-*, as *vesanus* A. P. 455; Od. 3. 29. 19; *vecors* S. 2. 5. 74; *vepallida** S. 1. 2. 129.

*c*) Verbs: *addocere** Ep. 1. 5. 18; *autumare* S. 2. 3. 45; *blaterare* S. 2. 7. 35; *cedere = incedere* S. 2. 1. 65; *conscire*† Ep. 1. 1 60; *delassare* S. 1. 1. 14; *delitigare* A. P. 94; *didere* S. 2. 2. 67; *disconvenit*† Ep. 1. 1. 99; *graecari*† S. 2. 2. 11; *inamarescere** S. 2. 7. 107; *incogitare* Ep. 2. 1. 122; *immordeo*† S. 2. 4. 61; *iuvenari* A. P. 246; *lavare* as neut. S. 1. 4. 75; 1. 5. 24; *obdere* S. 1. 3. 59; *opulentare* Ep. 1. 16. 2; *pauperare* S. 2. 5. 36; *praelambere* S. 2. 6. 199; *praerodere* S. 2. 5. 25; *prodocere** Ep. 1. 1. 55; *recalcitrare*† S. 2. 1. 20; *remiscere* A. P. 151; *scabere* S. 1. 10. 71; *subsuere** S. 1. 2. 29.

*d*) Adverbs in *-ter* from adjectives in *-us: largiter* S. 1. 4. 132 (see note); *naviter* Ep. 1. 1. 24.

2. Coarse words; the language of the streets:

*a*) Nouns: *cauda* S. 1. 2. 45; S. 2. 7. 49; *clunis* S. 1. 2. 89; 2. 8. 91; *cunnus* S. 1. 2. 36 and 70; 1. 3. 107; *merda* S. 1. 8. 37; *mutto* S. 1. 2. 63; *natis* S. 1. 8. 46; *puga* S. 1. 2. 132; *tentigo* S. 1. 2. 118; as epithets, *cimex* S. 1. 10. 78; *furcifer* S. 2. 7. 22; *gula* S. 2. 2. 40; *simius* S. 1. 10. 18.



*b*) Adjectives: *depugis** S. 1. 2. 93; *cerebrosus* S. 1. 5. 21; *cerritus* S. 2. 3. 278.

*c*) Verbs: *amare* S. 2. 3. 250; *cacare* S. 1. 8. 38; *commingere* S. 1. 3. 90; *futuere* S. 1. 2. 127; *iugulare* S. 1. 7. 35, etc.; *meiere* S. 2. 7. 52; *mingere* S. 1. 8. 38; A. P. 471; *oppedere** S. 1. 9. 70; *pedere* S. 1. 8. 46; *permingere* S. 1. 2. 44; *permolere* S. 1. 2. 35.

3. Greek words. As a large part of the Latin vocabulary was derived from the Greek no attempt is made to cite all the Greek words used by Horace. Only those are worthy of mention which are used by Horace alone, or which occur outside of Horace rarely, or only in comedy, or only in later writers. Many of them have to do with the table and are more or less technical: *barathrum* S. 2. 3. 166; Ep. 1. 15. 31; *cheragra* S. 2. 7. 15; Ep. 1. 1. 31; *coccum* S. 2. 6. 102; *collyrium* S. 1. 5. 30; *echinus* S. 2. 4. 33, etc.; *garum* S. 2. 8. 46; *gausape* S. 2. 8. 11; *helleborus* S. 2. 3. 82; *lagoena* S. 2. 8. 41; *lagois** S. 2. 2. 22; *lapathum* S. 2. 4. 29; *lasanum* S. 1. 6. 109; *oenophorum* S. 1. 6. 109; *mazonomus* S. 2. 8. 86; *melimelum* S. 2. 8. 31; *mitulus* S. 2. 4. 28; *oryza* S. 2. 3. 155; *parochus* S. 1. 5. 46; *peloris* S. 2. 4. 32; *phimus** S. 2. 7. 17; *polypus* S. 1. 3. 40; *rhombus* S. 1. 2. 116, etc.; *saccus* S. 1. 1. 70; *scarus* S. 2. 2. 22; *scilla* S. 2. 4. 58; *sabbata* S. 1. 9. 69; *thynnus* S. 2. 5. 44; *tisanarium*† S. 2. 3. 155; *trigon* S. 1. 6. 126.

To these may be added a few Celtic words: *raeda* S. 1. 5. 86; *petoritum* S. 1. 6. 104 (see note); *essedum* Ep. 2. 1. 192, and the Syrian word *ambubaia* S. 1. 2. 1.

4. Diminutives. Such formations lend themselves readily to the speech of every-day life, and are a marked characteristic of comedy, as in Plautus and Terence; of the language of the heart, as in Catullus; or the vulgar idiom, as in Petronius. Sometimes Horace uses these formations with decidedly comic or satiric effect, as *lucellum* S. 2. 5. 82; *auricula* S. 1. 9. 20; *asellus* S. 1. 9. 20; *villula* S. 1. 5. 45; *amiculus* Ep. 1. 17. 3; *fonticulus*† S. 1. 1. 56; *popellus* Ep. 1. 7. 65; *fabella* S. 2. 6. 78; *pellicula* S. 2. 5. 38. The following list includes most of the other diminutives used by Horace: *agellus, ancilla, anellus, articulus, capella,*

*capillus, catella, catillus, clitella* (?), *cornicula, holusculum, lapillus. lectulus, libellus, litterula, lucellum, nutricula, osculum, parmula, particula, patella, pellicula, plebecula, puella, pupillus, tabella, vesiculus, vitellus.* To these must be added the following adjectives: *gemellus, pauperculus, tantulus, vetulus.*

## IV.

### Words in a Transferred Sense.

By this means a comic, satiric, or familiar effect is often produced.

*a*) Nouns: *iocus* S. 2. 5. 37; *risus* S. 2. 5. 107; *opera* S. 2. 7. 118; *uter* S. 2. 5. 98; *merx* S. 1. 2. 83; *nux cassa* S. 2. 5. 36.

*b*) Adjectives: *honesti = pulchri* S. 1. 2. 54; *commotus = cerritus* S. 2. 3. 209; *cena dubia = lauta* S. 2. 2. 77; *exterior comes* S. 2. 5. 17; *nodosus = callidus* S. 2. 3. 70.

*c*) Verbs: *accipere = tractare* S. 2. 8. 67; *cubare = aegrotare* S. 1. 9. 18; *manere = pernoctare* S. 1. 5. 37; *narrare = dicere* S. 19. 52; *portare = ferre* S. 1. 6. 76; *dolare* S. 1. 5. 23.

*d*) Adverbs: *damnose bibere* S. 2. 8. 34; *misere discedere quaerens* S. 1. 9. 8; *pulchre nosse* S. 1. 9. 61; *verniliter* S. 2. 6. 108.

## V.

### Phrases Familiar and Colloquial.

*homo emunctae naris* S. 1. 4. 8; *in aure rimosa* S. 2. 6. 46; *plagosus Orbilius* Ep. 2. 1. 70; *fumus lacrimosus* S. 1. 5. 80; *tristes Kalendae* S. 1. 3. 87; *garrit anilis fabellas* S. 2. 6. 77; *recoctus scriba* S. 2. 5. 55; *suspendere naso adunco* S. 1. 6. 5; *inriguum mero corpus habere* S. 2. 1. 9; *multa vappa prolutus* S. 1. 5. 16; *latrantem stomachum lenire* S. 2. 2. 18; *iratum ventrem placare* S. 2. 8. 5; *pervellere stomachum* S. 2. 8. 9; *ventri indico bellum* S. 1. 5. 8; *inlinere chartis* S. 1. 4. 36; *inludere chartis* S. 1. 4. 139; *risu diducere rictum* S. 1. 10. 7; *excutere sibi risum* S. 1. 4. 34; *exsudare causas* S. 1. 10. 25; *verba facere* S. 2. 3. 231.



A number of phrases which Horace uses are taken from social or conventional life: *unde et quo* S. 2. 4. 1; S. 1. 9. 62; *quid agis* S. 1. 9. 4; *quid tibi vis* S. 2. 6. 28; *vin tu* S. 1. 9. 69; *quid vis* S. 2. 3. 152; *quid enim* S. 1. 1. 7; *quid refert* S. 1. 1. 49; *quid tum* S. 2. 3. 230; *quid multa* S. 1. 6. 82; *quid faciam* S. 2. 1. 24; *si me amas* S. 1. 9. 38; *dispeream* S. 1. 9. 47; *me miseram* S. 1. 2. 130; *ohe iam satis est* S. 1. 5. 12; *nil agis* S. 9. 15; *nihil est* S. 2. 3. 6; *mirum* S. 2. 1. 54; *quidvis satis est* S. 2. 3. 127; *cupio omnia quae vis* S. 1. 9. 5; *numquid vis* S. 1. 9. 6.

To these might be added a number of proverbial expressions and technical phrases, especially from the law courts, that had found their way into the language of every-day life.

## VI.

### Syntactical.

No full treatment of Horatian syntax can be attempted here. The peculiarities that occur in his writings are often simply an extension of legitimate Latin usage, or on the other hand an imitation of Greek idiom, — a practice so common among the poets of the Augustan age. We can notice here only a few special points which seem to show the effects of colloquial usage; a number of other syntactical peculiarities are discussed in the notes.

1. The use of the adverbs *bene* and *male*, to qualify adjectives, an idiom which lives to-day in the corresponding French and Italian uses of *bien* and *bene*. The classical prose used such phrases with strictness and reservation, while every-day speech multiplied them indefinitely, cf. Draeg. I. 77. Horace uses *bene sanus* S. 1. 3. 61; 1. 9. 44; *bene notum* Ep. 1. 6. 25; *male parvus* S. 1. 3. 45; *male raucus* S. 1. 4. 66. Similarly *multum* is used to intensify the meaning of adjectives, as the Italian of to-day uses *molto bello, molto bene, molto poco*, etc. This idiom is very frequent in Plautus. Horace has *multum demissus* S. 1. 3. 57; *multum celer atque fidelis* S. 2. 3. 147; *multum similis* S. 2. 5. 92; *multum dissimilis* Ep. 1. 10. 3; *multum diversa* Ep. 2. 2. 62.

2. Predicate use of adverbs with *esse, fieri, facere,* — a construction very common in comedy; cf. Draeg. I. 115. Horace has the following examples: *pulchre fuerit tibi* S. 2. 8. 19; *fuerit melius* S. 2. 8. 4; *bene erat* S. 2. 2. 120; *bene est* S. 2. 6. 4; Ep. 1. 12. 5; *recte est* S. 2. 3. 162; *recte erunt* S. 2. 2. 106; *inepte est* S. 1. 10. 2.

3. Ellipsis of substantive with adjective: *hora* S. 1. 6. 122; 2. 6. 34; Ep. 1. 7. 71; Od. 3. 9. 7; *via* S. 1. 5. 5 and 71; *aqua* S. 2. 7. 91; *oculus* S. 2. 5. 53; cf. Draeg. I. 25.

4. Ellipsis of pronoun as subject of inf.: S. 1. 1. 63; S. 1. 3. 22; S. 1. 6. 57 and 128; S. 2. 3. 77; S. 2. 5. 38; Ep. 1. 6. 50; Ep. 1. 9. 5; Ep. 1. 17. 8; Ep. 1. 16. 37; Ep. 1. 18. 105.

5. Ellipsis of verb, generally of *esse: sum* S. 1. 4. 129; *es* S. 2. 8. 2; *sim* S. 1. 6. 53; *sis* S. 2. 5. 54; *fuit* S. 1. 9. 77; *audivi* S. 2. 6. 55; some verb of saying S. 2. 6. 49; S. 1. 2. 46; S 1. 5. 65; verb of doing S. 1. 4. 136; S. 2. 3. 31; S. 2. 3. 99.

## Metre.

Even before Horace's day the hexameter had become thoroughly nationalized as a form of Latin verse. The heavy, uncertain tread of Ennius and Lucilius had been corrected. Catullus had shown the beauty of the hexameter in pieces of moderate length, and Lucretius had proven its power in sustained reasoning and description. As used by Horace it lacks something in artistic polish, but this is in perfect accord with the familiar tone of his writings. Even in metrical treatment he keeps near to the colloquial style, and rejects artifices that would be appropriate in a more poetic flight. In his Satires, especially, there is a half careless ease of movement that marks the untechnical treatment of his subjects, and emphasizes the reality of his tone. In his Epistles he adopts a more perfect form, but nowhere does he reach that union of strength and grace that is found so conspicuously in Vergil's Aeneid, or the exquisite fineness of polish that we feel in Ovid.

Passing now to matters of detail, we may notice a few special points. In the matter of position Horace is strict; *bl, gl, gn* make position in the middle of a word. The combinations *sc, st,* at the beginning of a word do not affect a preceding short vowel; examples in the Satires are 1. 3. 44; 1. 5. 35; 1. 2. 30; 2. 2. 36; 1. 2. 71; 1. 10. 72; 2. 3. 43 and 296. In the Epistles he has avoided such collocations entirely.



A rhythmical lengthening of a short syllable occurs only in the arsis before the caesural pause, as *qui non defendit alio culpante* S. 1. 4. 82 (see note). Other examples are S. 1. 7. 7; 2. 1. 82; 2. 3. 1; 2. 3. 187; 1. 9. 21; 2. 2. 47; 2. 3. 260. There is no instance in the Epistles. Consonant *u* is used as a vowel in *suetae* S. 1. 8. 17; while vocalic *i* becomes a consonant in S. 1. 7. 30; 2. 8. 1; 2. 8. 21; and *u* is similarly treated in S. 2. 2. 76.

Elision is very common in the Satires, somewhat rarer in the Epistles. Elision of a long final syllable before a following short one is not common. We find two examples of long *a* thus elided, and six examples of the elision of long *i*. Final *o* had already begun to be generally shortened. Elision of monosyllables occurs in the Epistles only with *mĕ, tĕ, tŭ, mĭ;* in the Satires it is much more frequent, occurring, in addition to pronominal forms, with *sĭ, dum, cum, nam, quam, sum, rem* (see Crit. App. on S. 2. 6. 29). Hiatus is allowed with the interjection *O* in S. 2. 3. 265; Ep. 1. 19. 19; A. P. 301; with *num* in S. 2. 2. 28, and, combined with a shortening of a long syllable, in *si me amas* S. 1. 9. 38; *diu aptaque* A. P. 65 (see note in both cases). Synizesis is found in *cerea* S. 1. 8. 43; *ostrea* S. 2. 2. 21; *Lyncei* S. 1. 2. 90; *quoad* S. 2. 3. 91; *prout* S. 2. 6. 67; *Voltei* Ep. 1. 7. 91; *deicere* S. 1. 6. 39; *dein* S. 1. 5. 97.

The favorite caesural pause is the Penthemimeral; the next the Hephthemimeral, usually combined with the Trihemimeral. The feminine caesura of the third foot is less common, and is often used with special purpose to paint lively flow or movement, as of wind, flame, or water. At the close of the hexameter we find words of four and even five syllables. Monosyllabic close is very common in the Satires, but less frequent in the

Epistles. Two verses are united with elision of the final syllable S. 1. 4. 96; 1. 6. 102; by tmesis of a compound word S. 1. 2. 62; 2. 3. 117; Ep. 2. 2. 93; A. P. 424.

## Manuscripts.

This is in no sense a critical edition, yet a few words as to the manuscripts of Horace will not be out of place even for the general reader. The manuscripts of Horace are very numerous, amounting to nearly 250, of which the majority originated in France, attesting the great zeal with which Horace was read in that country even at a very early date. None of these Mss. are very old, nor can any one of them claim to be of paramount authority. Of most importance are the readings of the Blandinian Mss., as preserved in the edition of Cruquius (1578). Cruquius consulted four Mss. which were in the abbey of St. Peter '*in monte Blandinio*,' i.e. at Blankenberg, near Ghent. Of these he reckons one as the oldest and best, alluding to it as '*vetustissimus*.' These four Mss. were destroyed in a sack of the monastery in 1566, so that we are dependent on Cruquius for their readings. All editors, save Keller and Holder with their followers, attach a very high value to the readings of this '*vetustissimus*,' which is generally designated by the letter V. The oldest of the Mss. of Horace that have been preserved is one at Berne (No. 363), the importance of which was first appreciated by Orelli. It is of the ninth century, and was written by an Irish monk. A number of valuable Mss. of the tenth century are in Paris, others are in England, and others scattered over the continent. Keller and Holder have surpassed all previous editors in the fulness and care with which they have collated the readings of a large number of Mss., but their critical principles have not met with general approval. They divide all our Mss. of Horace into three groups, or families, each of which family is based on a lost archetype. Further, all these three family archetypes are derived from one original archetype, which Keller puts in the first or second century. Doubtful readings are settled not so



much by the authority of the individual Mss. as by the agreement of two classes. The Blandinian Mss. are reckoned as of very little value. On this point, however, most editors, even since Keller and Holder, record a decided protest. Palmer expresses a sounder view when he says (Preface, p. xxxi): "I am disposed to regard this famous codex (V) as an interpolated descendant of a better archetype than that from which other Horatian Mss. are descended."

The scholiasts referred to in the notes are Porphyrio, Acro, and the scholiast of Cruquius. The scholia of Porphyrio, which are the oldest and the best, are placed by Keller about 200–250 A.D., but Teuffel (Rom. Lit. 374. 3) puts them by preference into the fourth century. Helenius Acro lived about the end of the second century, and seems to have written a commentary on Horace, but the extant scholia that pass under the name of Acro are certainly not by him. They are later than Porphyrio, on whom they are largely based. Keller dates them as late as the fifth century. Cruquius found on the margin of his Blandinian Mss. a collection of notes, based in the main on Acro or Porphyrio. These he published in his edition under the title of *commentator*, and they are referred to in this edition as 'Schol. Cruq.'

# SERMONUM

## LIBER PRIMUS.

### I.

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa
contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?
'O fortunati mercatores!' gravis annis
miles ait multo iam fractus membra labore.
Contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris,
'militia est potior. Quid enim? Concurritur: horae
momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'
Agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,
sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
Ille, datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,
solos felices viventis clamat in urbe.
Cetera de genere hoc (adeo sunt multa) loquacem
delassare valent Fabium. Ne te morer, audi
quo rem deducam. Siquis deus 'en ego' dicat
'iam faciam, quod voltis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus; hinc vos,
vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. Heia!
Quid statis?' — nolint. Atqui licet esse beatis.
Quid causae est, merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas
iratus buccas inflet neque se fore posthac

tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?
Praeterea, ne sic, ut qui iocularia, ridens
percurram (quamquam ridentem dicere verum
quid vetat? Ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima;
sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo): ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,
perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque per omne
audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem
sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut
parvola, nam exemplo est, magni formica laboris
ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo,
quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.
Quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum
non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
quaesitis sapiens, cum te neque fervidus aestus
demoveat lucro neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,
nil obstet tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter.
Quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?
'Quod, si comminuas, vilem redigatur ad assem.'
At ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?
Milia frumenti tua triverit area centum,
non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus, ut si
reticulum panis venalis inter onusto
forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam
qui nil portarit. Vel dic, quid referat intra
naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an
mille aret? 'At suave est ex magno tollere acervo.'
Dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,
cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?



Ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna
vel cyatho, et dicas 'magno de flumine mallem
quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.' Eo fit,
plenior ut siquos delectet copia iusto,
cum ripa simul avolsos ferat Aufidus acer.
At qui tantuli eget, quanto est opus, is neque limo
turbatam haurit aquam neque vitam amittit in undis.
At bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso
'nil satis est' inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis.'
Quid facias illi? Iubeas miserum esse, libenter
quatenus id facit. Ut quidam memoratur Athenis
sordidus ac dives populi contemnere voces
sic solitus: 'populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo
ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.'
Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
flumina, — quid rides? Mutato nomine de te
fabula narratur: congestis undique saccis
indormis inhians, et tamquam parcere sacris
cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.
Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?
Panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius; adde,
quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.
An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,
ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuvat? Horum
semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.
At si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus
aut alius casus lecto te adfixit, habes qui
adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget, ut te
suscitet ac reddat gnatis carisque propinquis?
Non uxor salvum te volt, non filius; omnes
vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae.

Miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,
si nemo praestet quem non merearis amorem?
An si cognatos, nullo natura labore
quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,
infelix operam perdas, ut siquis asellum
in campo doceat parentem currere frenis?
Denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus,
pauperiem metuas minus et finire laborem
incipias parto quod avebas, ne facias quod
Ummidius quidam. Non longa est fabula: dives
ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus, ut se
non umquam servo melius vestiret, ad usque
supremum tempus, ne se penuria victus
opprimeret, metuebat. At huuc liberta securi
divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.
'Quid? Mi igitur suades, ut vivam Naevius aut sic
ut Nomentanus?' Pergis pugnantia secum
frontibus adversis componere. Non ego, avarum
cum veto te fieri, vappam iubeo ac nebulonem.
Est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli:
est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
Illuc, unde abii, redeo, qui nemo, ut avarus,
se probet ac potius laudet diversa sequentis,
quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber,
tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum
turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.
Sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,
ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.
Inde fit, ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum



dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita
cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.
Iam satis est: ne me Crispini scrinia lippi
compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

## II.

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae,
mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne
maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli:
quippe benignus erat. Contra hic, ne prodigus esse
dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico,
frigus quo duramque famem propellere possit.
Hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis
praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis:
sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi,
respondet. Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.
Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis,
dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis:
quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat, atque
quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urget;
nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili
sub patribus duris tironum. 'Maxime' quis non
'Iuppiter!' exclamat, simul atque audivit? 'At in se
pro quaestu sumptum facit.' Hic? Vix credere possis
quam sibi non sit amicus, ita ut pater ille, Terenti
fabula quem miserum gnato vixisse fugato
inducit, non se peius cruciaverit atque hic.
Siquis nunc quaerat 'quo res haec pertinet?' illuc:
dum vitant, stulti vitia in contraria currunt.

Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui
inguen ad obscenum subductis usque. Facetus
pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.
Nil medium est. Sunt qui nolint tetigisse nisi illas
quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste:
contra alius nullam nisi olenti in fornice stantem.
Quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, 'macte
virtute esto' inquit sententia dia Catonis:
'nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido,
huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas
permolere uxores.' 'Nolim laudarier' inquit
'sic me' mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.
Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte
qui moechis non voltis, ut omni parte laborent,
utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas
atque haec rara cadat dura inter saepe pericla.
Hic se praecipitem tecto dedit; ille flagellis
ad mortem caesus; fugiens hic decidit acrem
praedonum in turbam, dedit hic pro corpore nummos,
hunc perminxerunt calones; quin etiam illud
accidit, ut quidam testis caudamque salacem
demeteret ferro. 'Iure' omnes: Galba negabat.
Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda,
libertinarum dico, Sallustius in quas
non minus insanit quam qui moechatur. At hic si,
qua res, qua ratio suaderet, quaque modeste
munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus
esse, daret quantum satis esset, nec sibi damno
dedecorique foret. Verum hoc se amplectitur uno,
hoc amat et laudat: 'matronam nullam ego tango.'
Ut quondam Marsaeus, amator Originis ille,
qui patrium mimae donat fundumque laremque,



'nil fuerit mi' inquit 'cum uxoribus umquam alienis.'
Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus, unde
fama malum gravius quam res trahit. An tibi abunde
personam satis est, non illud, quicquid ubique
officit, evitare? Bonam deperdere famam,
rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicumque. Quid inter
est in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?
Villius in Fausta Syllae gener, hoc miser uno
nomine deceptus, poenas dedit usque superque
quam satis est, pugnis caesus ferroque petitus,
exclusus fore, cum Longarenus foret intus.
Huic si muttonis verbis mala tanta videnti
diceret haec animus: 'quid vis tibi? numquid ego a te
magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum
velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?'
Quid responderet? 'Magno patre nata puella est.'
At quanto meliora monet pugnantiaque istis
dives opis natura suae, tu si modo recte
dispensare velis ac non fugienda petendis
immiscere. Tuo vitio rerumne labores,
nil referre putas? Quare, ne paeniteat te,
desine matronas sectarier, unde laboris
plus haurire mali est quam ex re decerpere fructus.
Nec magis huic inter niveos viridisque lapillos
(sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum) tenerum est femur aut
crus
rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est.
Adde huc quod mercem sine fucis gestat, aperte
quod venale habet ostendit, neque, siquid honesti est,
iactat habetque palam, quaerit quo turpia celet.
Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur: opertos
inspiciunt, ne, si facies, ut saepe, decora

molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,
quod pulchrae clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.
Hoc illi recte: ne corporis optima Lyncei
contemplere oculis, Hypsaea caecior illa
quae mala sunt spectes. 'O crus, o bracchia!' Verum
depugis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est.
Matronae praeter faciem nil cernere possis,
cetera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.
Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata (nam te
hoc facit insanum), multae tibi tum officient res,
custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitae,
ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,
plurima quae invideant pure apparere tibi rem.
Altera, nil obstat; Cois tibi paene videre est
ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi;
metiri possis oculo latus. An tibi mavis
insidias fieri pretiumque avellier ante
quam mercem ostendi? 'Leporem venator ut alta
in nive sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit,'
cantat et apponit 'meus est amor huic similis; nam
transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat.'
Hiscine versiculis speras tibi posse dolores
atque aestus curasque gravis e pectore pelli?
Nonne, cupidinibus statuat natura modum quem,
quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum,
quaerere plus prodest et inane abscindere soldo?
Num, tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quaeris
pocula? Num esuriens fastidis omnia praeter
pavonem rhombumque? Tument tibi cum inguina, num, si
ancilla aut verna est praesto puer, impetus in quem
continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?



Non ego: namque parabilem amo Venerem facilemque.
Illam 'post paulo,' 'sed pluris,' 'si exierit vir'
Gallis, hanc Philodemus ait sibi, quae neque magno
stet pretio neque cunctetur cum est iussa venire.
Candida rectaque sit; munda hactenus, ut neque longa
nec magis alba velit quam dat natura videri.
Haec ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum,
Ilia et Egeria est; do nomen quodlibet illi,
nec vereor, ne, dum futuo, vir rure recurrat,
ianua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno
pulsa domus strepitu resonet, vepallida lecto
desiliat mulier, miseram se conscia clamet,
cruribus haec metuat, doti deprensa, egomet mi.
Discincta tunica fugiendum est et pede nudo,
ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama.
Deprendi miserum est: Fabio vel iudice vincam.

## III.

Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati,
iniussi numquam desistant. Sardus habebat
ille Tigellius hoc. Caesar, qui cogere posset,
si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non
quicquam proficeret; si collibuisset, ab ovo
usque ad mala citaret 'io Bacchae,' modo summa
voce, modo hac, resonat quae chordis quattuor ima.
Nil aequale homini fuit illi: saepe velut qui
currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui
Iunonis sacra ferret; habebat saepe ducentos,
saepe decem servos; modo reges atque tetrarchas,

omnia magna loquens, modo 'sit mihi mensa tripes et
concha salis puri et toga, quae defendere frigus
quamvis crassa queat.' Deciens centena dedisses
huic parco, paucis contento, quinque diebus
nil erat in loculis. Noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
mane, diem totum stertebat. Nil fuit umquam
sic impar sibi. Nunc aliquis dicat mihi: 'quid tu?
Nullane habes vitia?' Immo alia et fortasse minora.
Maenius absentem Novium cum carperet, 'heus tu'
quidam ait, 'ignoras te an ut ignotum dare nobis
verba putas?' 'Egomet mi ignosco' Maenius inquit.
Stultus et improbus hic amor est dignusque notari.
Cum tua pervideas oculis male lippus inunctis,
cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum
quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? At tibi contra
evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus et illi.
Iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
naribus horum hominum; rideri possit eo, quod
rusticius tonso toga defluit et male laxus
in pede calceus haeret: at est bonus, ut melior vir
non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens
inculto latet hoc sub corpore. Denique te ipsum
concute, numqua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
natura aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.
Illuc praevertamur, amatorem quod amicae
turpia decipiunt caecum, vitia aut etiam ipsa haec
delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae.
Vellem in amicitia sic erraremus, et isti
errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.
At pater ut gnati, sic nos debemus amici
siquod sit vitium non fastidire. Strabonem



appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male parvus
si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim
Sisyphus; hunc varum distortis cruribus, illum
balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis.
Parcius hic vivit: frugi dicatur. Ineptus
et iactantior hic paulo est: concinnus amicis
postulat ut videatur. At est truculentior atque
plus aequo liber: simplex fortisque habeatur.
Caldior est: acris inter numeretur. Opinor,
haec res et iungit, iunctos et servat amicos.
At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus atque
sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. Probus quis
nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo: illi
tardo cognomen, pingui damus. Hic fugit omnis
insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,
cum genus hoc inter vitae versemur, ubi acris
invidia atque vigent ubi crimina: pro bene sano
ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus.
Simplicior quis et est qualem me saepe libenter
obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem
aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone: 'mólestus:
communi sensu plane caret' inquimus. Eheu,
quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!
Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur: optimus ille est,
qui minimis urgetur. Amicus dulcis, ut aequum est,
cum mea compenset vitiis bona, pluribus hisce,
si modo plura mihi bona sunt, inclinet, amari
si volet: hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem.
Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius: aequum est
peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus.
Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae,

cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non
ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res
ut quaeque est ita suppliciis delicta coercet?
Siquis eum servum, patinam qui tollere iussus
semesos piscis tepidumque ligurrierit ius,
in cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter
sanos dicatur. Quanto hoc furiosius atque
maius peccatum est: paulum deliquit amicus,
quod nisi concedas, habeare insuavis: acerbus
odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,
mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.
Comminxit lectum potus, mensave catillum
Euandri manibus tritum deiecit: ob hanc rem,
aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini
sustulit esuriens, minus hoc iucundus amicus
sit mihi? Quid faciam si furtum fecerit, aut si
prodiderit commissa fide sponsumve negarit?
Quis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant
cum ventum ad verum est: sensus moresque repugnant
atque ipsa utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi.
Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
pugnabant armis, quae post fabricaverat usus,
donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,
oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges,
ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.
Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus taeterrima belli
causa, sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
quos Venerem incertam rapientis more ferarum



viribus editior caedebat ut in grege taurus.
Iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necesse est,
tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.
Nec natura potest iusto secernere iniquum,
dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis;
nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque
qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti
et qui nocturnus sacra divum legerit. Adsit
regula, peccatis quae poenas inroget aequas,
ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
Nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
verbera non vereor, cum dicas esse paris res
furta latrociniis et magnis parva mineris
falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
permittant homines. Si dives, qui sapiens est,
et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex,
cur optas quod habes? 'Non nosti quid pater' inquit
'Chrysippus dicat: sapiens crepidas sibi numquam
nec soleas fecit; sutor tamen est sapiens.' Qui?
'Ut, quamvis tacet, Hermogenes cantor tamen atque
optimus est modulator, ut Alfenus vafer omni
abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna
sutor erat, sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
est opifex, solus sic rex.' Vellunt tibi barbam
lascivi pueri; quos tu nisi fuste coerces,
urgeris turba circum te stante miserque
rumperis et latras, magnorum maxime regum.
Ne longum faciam: dum tu quadrante lavatum
rex ibis neque te quisquam stipator ineptum
praeter Crispinum sectabitur, et mihi dulces
ignoscent, siquid peccaro stultus, amici,
inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter,
privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

## IV.

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae
atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
siquis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,
quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus
mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque; facetus,
emunctae naris, durus componere versus.
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,
ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno;
cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles;
garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,
scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror. Ecce,
Crispinus minimo me provocat: 'accipe, si vis,
accipiam tabulas: detur nobis locus, hora,
custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.'
Di bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli
finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis.
At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras
usque laborantis, dum ferrum molliat ignis,
ut mavis, imitare. Beatus Fannius ultro
delatis capsis et imagine, cum mea nemo
scripta legat volgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,
quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote pluris
culpari dignos. Quemvis media elige turba:
aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat.
Hic nuptarum insanit amoribus, hic puerorum;
hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere;
hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo



vespertina tepet regio; quin per mala praeceps
fertur uti pulvis collectus turbine, nequid
summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem:
omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poetas.
'Faenum habet in cornu: longe fuge! Dummodo risum
excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico,
et quodcumque semel chartis inleverit, omnis
gestiet a furno redeuntis scire lacuque
et pueros et anus.' Agedum, pauca accipe contra.
Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetas,
excerpam numero: neque enim concludere versum
dixeris esse satis; neque, siqui scribat uti nos,
sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.
Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os
magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.
Idcirco quidam comoedia necne poema
esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis
nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo
differt sermoni, sermo merus. 'At pater ardens
saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica
filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset,
ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante
noctem cum facibus.' Numquid Pomponius istis
audiret leviora, pater si viveret? Ergo
non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis,
quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem
quo personatus pacto pater. His, ego quae nunc,
olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum est,
posterius facias, praeponens ultima primis,
non, ut si solvas 'postquam Discordia taetra
belli ferratos postis portasque refregit,'

invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae.
Hactenus haec: alias iustum sit necne poema,
nunc illud tantum quaeram, meritone tibi sit
suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer
ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis,
magnus uterque timor latronibus: at bene siquis
et vivat puris manibus, contemnat utrumque.
Ut sis tu similis Caeli Birrique latronum,
non ego sim Capri neque Sulci: cur metuas me?
Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
Quis manus insudet volgi Hermogenisque Tigelli;
nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus,
non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. In medio qui
scripta foro recitent, sunt multi, quique lavantes:
suave locus voci resonat conclusus. Inanis
hoc iuvat, haud illud quaerentis, num sine sensu,
tempore num faciant alieno. 'Laedere gaudes'
inquit, 'et hoc studio pravus facis.' Unde petitum
hoc in me iacis? Est auctor quis denique eorum
vixi cum quibus? Absentem qui rodit, amicum
qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
qui nequit: hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.
Saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos,
e quibus unus amet quavis aspergere cunctos
praeter eum qui praebet aquam; post hunc quoque potus,
condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.
Hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur,
infesto nigris: ego si risi, quod ineptus
pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,



lividus et mordax videor tibi? Mentio siquae
de Capitolini furtis iniecta Petilli
te coram fuerit, defendas ut tuus est mos:
'me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque
a puero est, causaque mea permulta rogatus
fecit, et incolumis laetor quod vivit in urbe:
sed tamen admiror quo pacto iudicium illud
fugerit.' Hic nigrae sucus lolliginis, haec est
aerugo mera. Quod vitium procul afore chartis
atque animo prius, ut siquid promittere de me
possum aliud vere, promitto. Liberius si
dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
cum venia dabis. Insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando.
Cum me hortaretur, parce frugaliter atque
viverem uti contentus eo, quod mi ipse parasset:
'nonne vides, Albi ut male vivat filius, utque
Baius inops? Magnum documentum, ne patriam rem
perdere quis velit.' A turpi meretricis amore
cum deterreret: 'Scetani dissimilis sis.'
Ne sequerer moechas, concessa cum venere uti
possem: 'deprensi non bella est fama Treboni'
aiebat. 'Sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu
sit melius, causas reddet tibi: mi satis est, si
traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque,
dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
incolumem possum; simul ac duraverit aetas
membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice.' Sic me
formabat puerum dictis, et sive iubebat,
ut facerem quid, 'habes auctorem quo facias hoc,'
unum ex iudicibus selectis obiciebat;
sive vetabat, 'an hoc inhonestum et inutile factu

necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum
hic atque ille?' Avidos vicinum funus ut aegros
exanimat mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit,
sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe
absterrent vitiis. Ex hoc ego sanus ab illis,
perniciem quaecumque ferunt, mediocribus et quis
ignoscas vitiis teneor. Fortassis et istinc
largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus,
consilium proprium. Neque enim, cum lectulus aut me
porticus excepit, desum mihi. 'Rectius hoc est.
Hoc faciens vivam melius. Sic dulcis amicis
occurram. Hoc quidam non belle: numquid ego illi
imprudens olim faciam simile?' Haec ego mecum
compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti,
inludo chartis. Hoc est mediocribus illis
ex vitiis unum. cui si concedere nolis,
multa poetarum veniet manus, auxilio quae
sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus), ac veluti te
Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

## V.

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma
hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Graecorum longe doctissimus: inde Forum Appi,
differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.
Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
praecinctis unum: minus est gravis Appia tardis.
Hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
indico bellum, cenantis haud animo aequo
expectans comites. Iam nox inducere terris



umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat.
Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae
ingerere: 'Huc appelle'! 'Trecentos inseris.' 'Ohe,
iam satis est.' Dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
tota abit hora. Mali culices ranaeque palustres
avertunt somnos, absentem ut cantat amicam
multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator
certatim. Tandem fessus dormire viator
incipit ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
Iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem
sentimus; donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
fuste dolat. Quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
Ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
Milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus
impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
Huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
Hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus
inlinere. Interea Maecenas advenit atque
Cocceius Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus.
Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter
linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae,
praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.
In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,
Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.
Postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque
occurrunt, animae, qualis neque candidiores

terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
O qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.
Proxima Campano ponti quae villula, tectum
praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.
Hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.
Lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque:
namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa,
quae super est Caudi cauponas. Nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,
Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque
contulerit litis. Messi clarum genus Osci;
Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti
ad pugnam venere. Prior Sarmentus 'equi te
esse feri similem dico.' Ridemus, et ipse
Messius 'accipio,' caput et movet. 'O tua cornu
ni foret exsecto frons,' inquit, 'quid faceres, cum
sic mutilus minitaris?' At illi foeda cicatrix
saetosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,
pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat:
nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse coturnis.
Multa Cicirrus ad haec: donasset iamne catenam
ex voto Laribus, quaerebat; scriba quod esset,
nilo deterius dominae ius esse; rogabat
denique, cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una
farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.
Prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam.
Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum; ubi sedulus hospes
paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni;
nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam



Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum.
Convivas avidos cenam servosque timentis
tum rapere atque omnis restinguere velle videres.
Incipit ex illo montis Apulia notos
ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos
numquam erēpsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
villa recepisset lacrimoso non sine fumo,
udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,
mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est,
signis perfacile est: vēnit vilissima rerum
hic aqua; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator.
Nam Canusi lapidosus (aquae non ditior urna),
qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
Flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.
Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.
Postera tempestas melior, via peior ad usque
Bari moenia piscosi. Dein Gnatia lymphis
iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,
dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro
persuadere cupit. Credat Iudaeus Apella,
non ego: namque deos didici securum agere aevum,
nec, siquid miri faciat natura, deos id
tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto.
Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.

## VI.

Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quicquid Etruscos
incoluit finis, nemo generosior est te,

nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,
olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,
ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.
Cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente
natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,
ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum
multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos
et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos;
contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde Superbus
Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis
non umquam pretio pluris licuisse notante
iudice quo nosti populo, qui stultus honores
saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus,
qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus: quid oportet
nos facere a volgo longe longeque remotos?
Namque esto, populus Laevino mallet honorem
quam Decio mandare novo, censorque moveret
Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus:
vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem.
Sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru
non minus ignotos generosis. Quo tibi, Tilli,
sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?
Invidia adcrevit, privato quae minor esset.
Nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus
pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum,
audit continuo: 'quis homo hic?' et 'quo patre natus?'
Ut siqui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi
et cupiat formosus, eat quacumque, puellis
iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali
sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo:
sic qui promittit, civis, urbem sibi curae,



imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,
quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,
omnis mortalis curare et quaerere cogit.
'Tune, Syri Damae aut Dionysi filius, audes
deicere de saxo civis aut tradere Cadmo?'
'At Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno:
namque est ille, pater quod erat meus.' 'Hoc tibi Paulus
et Messalla videris? At hic, si plostra ducenta
concurrantque foro tria funera magna, sonabit
cornua quod vincatque tubas: saltem tenet hoc nos.'
Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
nunc, quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor, at olim,
quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
Dissimile hoc illi est, quia non, ut forsit honorem
iure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum,
praesertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava
ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc
me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum:
nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit; optimus olim
Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere quid essem.
Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus
(infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)
non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
sed, quod eram, narro. Respondes, ut tuus est mos,
pauca: abeo, et revocas nono post mense iubesque
esse in amicorum numero. Magnum hoc ego duco,
quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum
non patre praeclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.
Atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis

mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, velut si
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos,
si neque avaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra
obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons,
ut me collaudem, si et vivo carus amicis;
causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
ibant octonos referentes Idibus aeris,
sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum
artis, quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
semet prognatos. Vestem servosque sequentis,
in magno ut populo, siqui vidisset, avita
ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos.
Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnis
circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? Pudicum,
qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi,
nec timuit, sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim
si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
mercedes sequerer: neque ego essem questus; at hoc nunc
laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.
Nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius; eoque
non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentis,
sic me defendam. Longe mea discrepat istis
et vox et ratio. Nam si natura iuberet
a certis annis aevum remeare peractum
atque alios legere, ad fastum quoscumque parentis
optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos



fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
iudicio volgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum.
Nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res
atque salutandi plures; ducendus et unus
et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve
exirem, plures calones atque caballi
pascendi, ducenda petorrita. Nunc mihi curto
ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,
mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos:
obiciet nemo sordes mihi, quas tibi, Tilli,
cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur
te pueri, lasanum portantes oenophorumque.
Hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,
milibus atque aliis vivo. Quacumque libido est,
incedo solus, percontor quanti holus ac far,
fallacem circum vespertinumque pererro
saepe forum, adsisto divinis. Inde domum me
ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.
Cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus
pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; astat echinus
vilis, cum patera gutus, Campana supellex.
Deinde eo dormitum non sollicitus, mihi quod cras
surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se
voltum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
Ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor; aut ego, lecto
aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet, unguor olivo,
non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.
Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
admonuit, fugio campum lusumque trigonem.
Pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani
ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. Haec est

vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique;
his me consolor victurum suavius, ac si
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

## VII.

Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum
hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor
omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.
Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam litis cum Rege molestas,
durus homo atque odio qui posset vincere Regem,
confidens tumidus, adeo sermonis amari,
Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis.
Ad Regem redeo. Postquam nihil inter utrumque
convenit (hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti,
quo fortes, quibus adversum bellum incidit. Inter
Hectora Priamiden, animosum atque inter Achillem
ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors,
non aliam ob causam, nisi quod virtus in utroque
summa fuit: duo si discordia vexet inertis,
aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi
cum Lycio Glauco, discedat pigrior, ultro
muneribus missis), Bruto praetore tenente
ditem Asiam, Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non
compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius. In ius
acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.
Persius exponit causam; ridetur ab omni
conventu; laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem;
solem Asiae Brutum appellat stellasque salubris
appellat comites, excepto Rege; Canem illum,



invisum agricolis sidus, venisse. Ruebat
flumen ut hibernum, fertur quo rara securis.
Tum Praenestinus salso multoque fluenti
expressa arbusto regerit convicia, durus
vindemiator et invictus, cui saepe viator
cessisset magna compellans voce cuculum.
At Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,
Persius exclamat: 'per magnos, Brute, deos te
oro, qui reges consueris tollere, cur non
hunc Regem iugulas? Operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum
est.'

## VIII.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,
maluit esse deum. Deus inde ego, furum aviumque
maxima formido: nam fures dextra coercet
obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus,
ast importunas volucres in vertice harundo
terret fixa vetatque novis considere in hortis.
Huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis
conservus vili portanda locabat in arca;
hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti.
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque
aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes
albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum;
cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque suetae
hunc vexare locum curae sunt atque labori,

quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis
humanos animos: has nullo perdere possum
nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentis.
Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam, pedibus nudis passoque capillo,
cum Sagana maiore ululantem. Pallor utrasque
fecerat horrendas aspectu. Scalpere terram
unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam
coeperunt: cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde
manis elicerent animas responsa daturas.
Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea: maior
lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem;
cerea suppliciter stabat, servilibus ut quae
iam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera, saevam
altera Tisiphonen: serpentis atque videres
infernas errare canes, lunamque rubentem,
ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra.
Mentior at siquid, merdis caput inquiner albis
corvorum atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum
Iulius et fragilis Pediatia furque Voranus.
Singula quid memorem? Quo pacto alterna loquentes
umbrae cum Sagana resonarint triste et acutum,
utque lupi barbam variae cum dente colubrae
abdiderint furtim terris, et imagine cerea
largior arserit ignis, et ut non testis inultus
horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum.
Nam, displosa sonat quantum vesica, pepedi
diffissa nate ficus: at illae currere in urbem.
Canidiae dentes, altum Saganae caliendrum
excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis
vincula cum magno risuque iocoque videres.



## IX.

Ibam forte via sacra, sicut meus est mos
nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.
Accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
arreptaque manu, 'quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'
'Suaviter, ut nunc est,' inquam, 'et cupio omnia quae
vis.'
Cum adsectaretur, 'numquid vis?' occupo. At ille,
'noris nos,' inquit; 'docti sumus.' Hic ego, 'pluris
hoc,' inquam, 'mihi eris.' Misere discedere quaerens,
ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos
manaret talos. 'O te, Bolane, cerebri
felicem'! aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille
garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. Ut illi
nil respondebam, 'misere cupis,' inquit, 'abire;
iamdudum video; sed nil agis; usque tenebo;
prosequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi.' 'Nil opus est te
circumagi: quendam volo visere non tibi notum;
trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos.'
'Nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger: usque sequar
te.'
Demitto auriculas ut iniquae mentis asellus,
cum gravius dorso subiit onus. Incipit ille:
'si bene me novi, non Viscum pluris amicum,
non Varium facies: nam quis me scribere pluris
aut citius possit versus? Quis membra movere
mollius? Invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto.'
Interpellandi locus hic erat: 'est tibi mater,
cognati, quis te salvo est opus?' 'Haud mihi quisquam:
omnis composui.' 'Felices! nunc ego resto.

Confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella
quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna:
"hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis
nec laterum dolor aut tussis nec tarda podagra;
garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque; loquaces,
si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit aetas."'
Ventum erat ad Vestae, quarta iam parte diei
praeterita, et casu tum respondere vadato
debebat; quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.
'Si me amas,' inquit, 'paulum hic ades.' 'Interea, si
aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura;
et propero quo scis.' 'Dubius sum quid faciam,' inquit,
'tene relinquam an rem.' 'Me, sodes.' 'Non faciam,'
ille,
et praecedere coepit. Ego, ut contendere durum
cum victore, sequor. 'Maecenas quomodo tecum?'
hinc repetit: 'paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae.'
'Nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. Haberes
magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
hunc hominem velles si tradere; dispeream, ni
summosses omnis.' 'Non isto vivimus illic
quo tu rere modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est
nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit, inquam,
ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni
cuique suus.' 'Magnum narras, vix credibile!' 'Atqui
sic habet.' 'Accendis, quare cupiam magis illi
proximus esse.' 'Velis tantummodo: quae tua virtus,
expugnabis; et est qui vinci possit, eoque
difficilis aditus primos habet.' 'Haud mihi dero:
muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si
exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram,
occurram in triviis, deducam. Nil sine magno



vita labore dedit mortalibus.' Haec dum agit, ecce
Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
qui pulchre nosset. Consistimus. 'Unde venis?' et
'quo tendis?' rogat et respondet. Vellere coepi
et pressare manu lentissima bracchia, nutans,
distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. Male salsus
ridens dissimulare; meum iecur urere bilis.
'Certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
aiebas mecum.' 'Memini bene, sed meliore
tempore dicam; hodie tricesima sabbata: vin tu
curtis Iudaeis oppedere?' 'Nulla mihi,' inquam,
'religio est.' 'At mi; sum paulo infirmior, unus
multorum. Ignosces; alias loquar.' Huncine solem
tam nigrum surrexe mihi! Fugit improbus ac me
sub cultro linquit. Casu venit obvius illi
adversarius, et, 'quo tu turpissime?' magna
inclamat voce, et 'licet antestari?' Ego vero
oppono auriculam. Rapit in ius; clamor utrimque,
undique concursus. Sic me servavit Apollo.

## X.

[Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone
defensore tuo pervincam, qui male factos
emendare parat versus; hoc lenius ille,
quo melior vir et est longe subtilior illo,
qui multum puerum est loris et funibus udis
exhortatus, ut esset opem qui ferre poetis
antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,
grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. Ut redeam illuc:]

Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus

Lucili. Quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est,
ut non hoc fateatur? 'At idem, quod sale multo
urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.'
Nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera; nam sic
et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer.
Ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
auditoris; et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus:
est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia neu se
impediat verbis lassas onerantibus auris;
et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
extenuantis eas consulto. Ridiculum acri
fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.
Illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,
hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes umquam legit neque simius iste
nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
'At magnum fecit, quod verbis Graeca Latinis
miscuit.' O seri studiorum, quine putetis
difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
contigit? 'At sermo lingua concinnus utraque
suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.'
Cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum
dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?
Scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque Latini,
cum Pedius causas exsudet Publicola atque
Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita
verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?
Atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,
versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:



'in silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si
magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas.'
Turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque
defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,
quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa,
nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.
Arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
eludente senem comis garrire libellos
unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio regum
facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer,
ut nemo, Varius ducit; molle atque facetum
Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae.
Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino
atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem,
inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim
haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.
At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem
plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. Age, quaeso,
tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?
Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?
Non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,
cum de se loquitur non ut maiore reprensis?
Quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentis
quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
versiculos natura magis factos et euntis
mollius, ac siquis, pedibus quid claudere senis,
hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos
ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus? - Etrusci
quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
ambustum propriis. Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem

quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor
quamque poetarum seniorum turba: sed ille,
si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo
saepe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet unguis.
Saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint
scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
contentus paucis lectoribus. An tua demens
vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?
Non ego; nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax,
contemptis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.
Men moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod
vellicet absentem Demetrius aut quod ineptus
Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli?
Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus atque
Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque.
Ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque
vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
compluris alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
prudens praetereo; quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,
adridere velim, doliturus, si placeant spe
deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,
discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.
I, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

# SERMONUM

## LIBER SECUNDUS.

### I.

Sunt quibus in satura videar nimis acer et ultra
legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera, quicquid
composui, pars esse putat similisque meorum
mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,
quid faciam, praescribe. 'Quiescas.' Ne faciam, inquis,
omnino versus? 'Aio.' Peream male, si non
optimum erat; verum nequeo dormire. 'Ter uncti
transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,
inriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
Aut, si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude
Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
praemia laturus.' Cupidum, pater optime, vires
deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspide Gallos
aut labentis equo describit volnera Parthi.
'Attamen et iustum poteras et scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius.' Haud mihi dero,
cum res ipsa feret: nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,
cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus.
'Quanto rectius hoc, quam tristi laedere versu

Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,
cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit.'
Quid faciam? Saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis;
Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
pugnis; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
milia: me pedibus delectat claudere verba
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
credebat libris, neque si male cesserat, usquam
decurrens alio, neque si bene; quo fit, ut omnis
votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
vita senis. Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus, anceps:
nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
incuteret violenta. Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis
vagina tectus; quem cur destringere coner
tutus ab infestis latronibus? O pater et rex
Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum,
nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! At ille,
qui me commorit (melius non tangere, clamo),
flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam,
Canidia Albuci quibus est inimica venenum,
grande malum Turius, siquid se iudice certes.
Ut quo quisque valet, suspectos terreat, utque
imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum:
dente lupus, cornu taurus petit; unde, nisi intus
monstratum? Scaevae vivacem crede nepoti



matrem; nil faciet sceleris pia dextera: mirum,
ut neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos:
sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.
Ne longum faciam: seu me tranquilla senectus
exspectat seu mors atris circumvolat alis,
dives, inops, Romae, seu fors ita iusserit, exsul,
quisquis erit vitae scribam color. 'O puer, ut sis
vitalis metuo, et maiorum nequis amicus
frigore te feriat.' Quid? Cum est Lucilius ausus
primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius et qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen
ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello
famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui
primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,
scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque eius amicis.
Quin ubi se a volgo et scaena in secreta remorant
virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,
nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec
decoqueretur holus, soliti. Quicquid sum ego, quamvis
infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
invidia, et fragili quaerens illidere dentem
offendet solido; nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
dissentis. 'Equidem nihil hinc diffingere possum.
Sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti
incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
iudiciumque.' Esto, siquis mala; sed bona siquis
iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare? Siquis
opprobriis dignum latraverit, integer ipse?
'Solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.'

## II.

Quae virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo
(nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus
rusticus, abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva),
discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentis,
cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum
adclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
verum hic impransi mecum disquirite. 'Cur hoc?'
dicam, si potero. Male verum examinat omnis
corruptus iudex. Leporem sectatus equove
lassus ab indomito vel, si Romana fatigat
militia adsuetum graecari, seu pila velox
molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
seu te discus agit (pete cedentem aera disco),
cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
sperne cibum vilem; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno
ne biberis diluta. Foris est promus et atrum
defendens piscis hiemat mare: cum sale panis
latrantem stomachum bene leniet. Unde putas aut
qui partum? Non in caro nidore voluptas
summa, sed in te ipso est. Tu pulmentaria quaere
sudando: pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea
nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.
Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone velis quin
hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
corruptus vanis rerum; quia veneat auro
rara avis et picta pandat spectacula cauda:
tamquam ad rem attineat quicquam. Num vesceris ista
quam laudas pluma? Coeto num adest honor idem?
Carne tamen quamvis distat nil, hanc magis illa
imparibus formis deceptum te petere esto:



unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus an alto
captus hiet, pontisne inter iactatus an amnis
ostia sub Tusci? Laudas, insane, trilibrem
mullum, in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.
Ducit te species, video. Quo pertinet ergo
proceros odisse lupos? Quia scilicet illis
maiorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.
Ieiunus raro stomachus volgaria temnit.
'Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
vellem,' ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. At vos
praesentes, Austri, coquite horum obsonia. Quamquam
putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando
aegrum sollicitat stomachum, cum rapula plenus
atque acidas mavolt inulas. Necdum omnis abacta
pauperies epulis regum: nam vilibus ovis
nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. Haud ita pridem
Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa
infamis. Quid? Tunc rhombos minus aequor alebat?
Tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido,
donec vos auctor docuit praetorius. Ergo
siquis nunc mergos suavis edixerit assos,
parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.
Sordidus a tenui victu distabit Ofello
iudice. Nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud,
si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus,
cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret,
quinquennis oleas est et silvestria corna,
ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum, et
cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre, licebit
ille repotia, natalis aliosve dierum
festos albatus celebret, cornu ipse bilibri
caulibus instillat, veteris non parcus aceti.

Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, et horum
utrum imitabitur? Hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt.
Mundus erit, qua non offendat sordibus, atque
in neutram partem cultus miser. Hic neque servis,
Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit,
saevus erit; nec sic ut simplex Naevius unctam
convivis praebebit aquam: vitium hoc quoque magnum.
Accipe nunc, victus tenuis quae quantaque secum
adferat. In primis valeas bene. Nam variae res
ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escae,
quae simplex olim tibi sederit: at simul assis
miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
dulcia se in bilem vertent stomachoque tumultum
lenta feret pituita. Vides ut pallidus omnis
cena desurgat dubia? Quin corpus onustum
hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una
atque adfigit humo divinae particulam aurae.
Alter, ubi dicto citius curata sopori
membra dedit, vegetus praescripta ad munia surgit.
Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,
sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus,
seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus, ubique
accedent anni, tractari mollius aetas
imbecilla volet: tibi quidnam accedet ad istam
quam puer et validus praesumis mollitiem, seu
dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus?
Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus
illis nullus erat, sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes
tardius adveniens vitiatum commodius quam
integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam inter
heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!
Das aliquid famae, quae carmine gratior aurem



occupet humanam: grandes rhombi patinaeque
grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus; adde
iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum
et frustra mortis cupidum, cum derit egenti
as, laquei pretium. 'Iure,' inquit, 'Trausius istis
iurgatur verbis: ego vectigalia magna
divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus.' Ergo
quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?
Cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite? Quare
templa ruunt antiqua deum? Cur, improbe, carae
non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris acervo?
Uni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res,
o magnus posthac inimicis risus! Uterne
ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius? Hic qui
pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum,
an qui contentus parvo metuensque futuri
in pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello?
Quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
integris opibus novi non latius usum
quam nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello
cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum,
'non ego,' narrantem, 'temere edi luce profesta
quicquam praeter holus fumosae cum pede pernae.
Ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes
sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
vicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis,
sed pullo atque haedo. Tum pensilis uva secundas
et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu.
Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra;
ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,
explicuit vino contractae seria frontis.
Saeviat atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus:

quantum hinc imminuet? Quanto aut ego parcius aut vos,
o pueri, nituistis, ut huc novus incola venit?
Nam propriae telluris erum natura neque illum
nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille;
illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia iuris,
postremum expellet certe vivacior heres.
Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum
nunc mihi, nunc alii. Quocirca vivite fortes,
fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.'

## III.

'Si raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens,
iratus tibi quod vini somnique benignus
nil dignum sermone canas, quid fiet? At ipsis
Saturnalibus huc fugisti sobrius. Ergo
dic aliquid dignum promissis: incipe. Nil est:
culpantur frustra calami, immeritusque laborat
iratis natus paries dis atque poetis.
Atqui voltus erat multa et praeclara minantis,
si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.
Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro,
Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?
Invidiam placare paras virtute relicta?
Contemnere, miser. Vitanda est improba Siren
desidia, aut quicquid vita meliore parasti
ponendum aequo animo.' Di te, Damasippe, deaeque
verum ob consilium donent tonsore. Sed unde



tam bene me nosti? 'Postquam omnis res mea Ianum
ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
excussus propriis. Olim nam quaerere amabam,
quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus aere,
quid sculptum infabre, quid fusum durius esset;
callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum;
hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
cum lucro noram; unde frequentia Mercuriale
imposuere mihi cognomen compita.' Novi,
et miror morbi purgatum te illius. 'Atqui
emovit veterem mire novus, ut solet in cor
traiecto lateris miseri capitisve dolore,
ut lethargicus hic cum fit pugil et medicum urget.'
Dum ne quid simile huic, esto ut libet. 'O bone, ne te
frustrere, insanis et tu stultique prope omnes,
siquid Stertinius veri crepat, unde ego mira
descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me
solatus iussit sapientem pascere barbam
atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.
Nam male re gesta cum vellem mittere operto
me capite in flumen, dexter stetit et, "cave faxis
te quicquam indignum: pudor," inquit, "te malus angit,
insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi.
Primum nam inquiram quid sit furere: hoc si erit in te
solo, nil verbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam.
Quem mala stultitia et quemcumque inscitia veri
caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
autumat. Haec populos, haec magnos formula reges
excepto sapiente tenet. Nunc accipe quare
desipiant omnes aeque ac tu, qui tibi nomen
insano posuere. Velut silvis ubi passim
palantis error certo de tramite pellit,

ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit, unus utrique
error, sed variis inludit partibus; hoc te
crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille
qui te deridet caudam trahat. Est genus unum
stultitiae nihilum metuenda timentis, ut ignis,
ut rupes fluviosque in campo obstare queratur:
alterum et huic varum et nihilo sapientius ignis
per medios fluviosque ruentis. Clamet amica,
mater, honesta soror cum cognatis, pater, uxor:
'hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima: serva!'
Non magis audierit quam Fufius ebrius olim,
cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis,
'mater, te appello,' clamantibus. Huic ego volgus
errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.
insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo:
integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? Esto.
'Accipe quod numquam reddas mihi,' si tibi dicam,
tune insanus eris si acceperis? An magis excors
reiecta praeda, quam praesens Mercurius fert?
Scribe decem a Nerio: non est satis; adde Cicutae
nodosi tabulas, centum, mille adde catenas:
effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.
Cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis,
fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum et, cum volet, arbor.
Si male rem gerere insani est, contra bene sani,
putidius multo cerebrum est, mihi crede, Perelli
dictantis quod tu numquam rescribere possis.
Audire atque togam iubeo componere, quisquis
ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione
aut alio mentis morbo calet: huc propius me,
dum doceo insanire omnis vos ordine, adite.



Danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris;
nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.
Heredes Staberi summam incidere sepulcro,
ni sic fecissent, gladiatorum dare centum
damnati populo paria atque epulum arbitrio Arri,
frumenti quantum metit Africa. 'Sive ego prave
seu recte hoc volui, ne sis patruus mihi:' credo,
hoc Staberi prudentem animum vidisse. 'Quid ergo
sensit cum summam patrimoni insculpere saxo
heredes voluit?' Quoad vixit, credidit ingens
pauperiem vitium et cavit nihil acrius, ut, si
forte minus locuples uno quadrante perisset,
ipse videretur sibi nequior. Omnis enim res,
virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris
divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit, ille
clarus erit, fortis, iustus. 'Sapiensne?' Etiam, et rex
et quicquid volet. Hoc, veluti virtute paratum,
speravit magnae laudi fore. Quid simile isti
Graecus Aristippus, qui servos proicere aurum
in media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent
propter onus segnes? Uter est insanior horum?
Nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.
Siquis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
nec studio citharae nec Musae deditus ulli,
si scalpra et formas non sutor, nautica vela
aversus mercaturis, delirus et amens
undique dicatur merito. Qui discrepat istis,
qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
compositis metuensque velut contingere sacrum?
Siquis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum
porrectus vigilet cum longo fuste, neque illinc
audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum,

ac potius foliis parcus vescatur amaris;
si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni
mille cadis, nihil est, ter centum milibus, acre
potet acetum; age, si et stramentis incubet unde-
octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,
blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca:
nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod
maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem.
Filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,
dis inimice senex, custodis? Ne tibi desit?
Quantulum enim summae curtabit quisque dierum,
ungere si caules oleo meliore caputque
coeperis impexa foedum porrigine? Quare,
si quidvis satis est, periuras, surripis, aufers
undique? Tun sanus? Populum si caedere saxis
incipias servosve tuos quos aere pararis,
insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae:
cum laqueo uxorem interemis matremque veneno,
incolumi capite es? Quid enim? Neque tu hoc facis Argis,
nec ferro ut demens genetricem occidis Orestes.
An tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente,
ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam
in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
Quin, ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes,
nil sane fecit, quod tu reprehendere possis:
non Pyladen ferro violare aususve sororem
Electram, tantum maledicit utrique vocando
hanc Furiam, hunc aliud, iussit quod splendida bilis.
Pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,
quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut heres



iam circum loculos et clavis laetus ovansque
curreret. Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
excitat hoc pacto: mensam poni iubet atque
effundi saccos nummorum, accedere pluris
ad numerandum. Hominem sic erigit, addit et illud:
'ni tua custodis, avidus iam haec auferet heres.'
'men vivo?' 'Ut vivas igitur, vigila. Hoc age.' 'Quid vis?'
'Deficient inopem venae te, ni cibus atque
ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti.
Tu cessas? Agedum, sume hoc tisanarium oryzae.'
'Quanti emptae?' 'Parvo.' 'Quanti ergo?' 'Octussibus.' 'Eheu!
Quid refert morbo an furtis pereamque rapinis?'
'Quisnam igitur sanus?' Qui non stultus. 'Quid avarus?'
Stultus et insanus. 'Quid, siquis non sit avarus,
continuo sanus?' Minime. 'Cur, Stoice?' Dicam.
Non est cardiacus (Craterum dixisse putato)
hic aeger: recte est igitur surgetque? Negabit,
quod latus aut renes morbo temptentur acuto.
Non est periurus neque sordidus: immolet aequis
hic porcum Laribus: verum ambitiosus et audax:
naviget Anticyram. Quid enim differt, barathrone
dones quicquid habes an numquam utare paratis?
Servius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, dives
antiquo censu, gnatis divisse duobus
fertur et hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis
ad lectum: 'postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi,
te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem,
extimui ne vos ageret vesania discors,
tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam.

Quare per divos oratus uterque Penatis,
tu cave ne minuas, tu ne maius facias id,
quod satis esse putat pater et natura coercet.
Praeterea, ne vos titillet gloria, iure
iurando obstringam ambo: uter aedilis fueritve
vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.
In cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,
latus ut in circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes,
nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis?
Scilicet ut plausus, quos fert Agrippa, feras tu,
astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem.' —
'Ne quis humasse velit Aiacem, Atrida, vetas cur?'
'Rex sum.' 'Nil ultra quaero plebeius.' 'Et aequam
rem imperito; ac si cui videor non iustus, inulto
dicere quod sentit permitto.' 'Maxime regum,
di tibi dent capta classem reducere Troia.
Ergo consulere et mox respondere licebit?'
'Consule.' 'Cur Aiax, heros ab Achille secundus,
putescit, totiens servatis clarus Achivis?
Gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato,
per quem tot iuvenes patrio caruere sepulcro?'
'Mille ovium insanus morti dedit, inclitum Ulixen
et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.'
'Tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide gnatam
ante aras spargisque mola caput, improbe, salsa,
rectum animi servas cursum? Insanus quid enim Aiax
fecit cum stravit ferro pecus? Abstinuit vim
uxore et gnato: mala multa precatus Atridis
non ille aut Teucrum aut ipsum violavit Ulixen.'
'Verum ego, ut haerentis adverso litore navis
eriperem, prudens placavi sanguine divos.'
'Nempe tuo, furiose.' 'Meo, sed non furiosus.' —



Qui species alias veris scelerisque tumultu
permixtas capiet, commotus habebitur, atque
stultitiane erret, nihilum distabit, an ira.
Aiax cum immeritos occidit desipit agnos:
cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanis,
stas animo et purum est vitio tibi, cum tumidum est, cor?
Siquis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,
huic vestem, ut gnatae, paret ancillas, paret aurum,
Rufam aut Pusillam appellet fortique marito
destinet uxorem, interdicto huic omne adimat ius
praetor et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
Quid? Siquis gnatam pro muta devovet agna,
integer est animi? Ne dixeris. Ergo ubi prava
stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,
et furiosus erit; quem cepit vitrea fama,
hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.
Nunc age, luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum:
vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes.
Hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta,
edicit, piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
unguentarius ac Tusci turba impia vici,
cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum
mane domum veniant. Quid tum? Venere frequentes.
Verba facit leno: 'quicquid mihi, quicquid et horum
cuique domi est, id crede tuum et vel nunc pete vel cras.'
Accipe quid contra haec iuvenis responderit aequus:
'in nive Lucana dormis ocreatus, ut aprum
cenem ego; tu piscis hiberno ex aequore verris.
Segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam: aufer!
Sume tibi deciens; tibi tantundem; tibi triplex,
unde uxor media currit de nocte vocata.'
Filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,

scilicet ut deciens solidum absorberet, aceto
diluit insignem bacam: qui sanior ac si
illud idem in rapidum flumen iaceretve cloacam?
Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile fratrum,
nequitia et nugis, pravorum et amore gemellum,
luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemptas,
quorsum abeant, sani ut creta an carbone notati?
Aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures,
ludere par impar, equitare in harundine longa,
siquem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.
Si puerilius his ratio esse evincet amare,
nec quicquam differre, utrumne in pulvere, trimus
quale prius, ludas opus, an meretricis amore
sollicitus plores: quaero, faciasne quod olim
mutatus Polemon? Ponas insignia morbi,
fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille
dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,
postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri?
Porrigis irato puero cum poma, recusat:
'sume, catelle!' Negat; si non des, optet. Amator
exclusus qui distat, agit ubi secum, eat an non,
quo redituru erat non arcessitus, et haeret
invisis foribus? 'Nec nunc, cum me vocet ultro,
Accedam? An potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclusit; revocat: redeam? Non, si obsecret.' Ecce
servus non paulo sapientior: 'o ere, quae res
nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque
tractari non volt. In amore haec sunt mala, bellum,
pax rursum: haec siquis tempestatis prope ritu
mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret
reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet ac si
insanire paret certa ratione modoque.'



Quid? Cum Picenis excerpens semina pomis
gaudes, si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?
Quid? Cum balba feris annoso verba palato,
aedificante casas qui sanior? Adde cruorem
stultitiae, atque ignem gladio scrutare modo, inquam.
Hellade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se
cerritus fuit, an commotae crimine mentis
absolves hominem et sceleris damnabis eundem,
ex more imponens cognata vocabula rebus?
Libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus
lautis mane senex manibus currebat et, 'unum,'
('quid tam magnum?' addens) 'unum me surpite morti,
dis etenim facile est,' orabat; sanus utrisque
auribus atque oculis: mentem, nisi litigiosus,
exciperet dominus cum venderet. Hoc quoque volgus
Chrysippus ponit fecunda in gente Meneni.
'Iuppiter, ingentis qui das adimisque dolores,'
mater ait pueri menses iam quinque cubantis,
'frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo
mane die, quo tu indicis ieiunia, nudus
in Tiberi stabit.' Casus medicusve levarit
aegrum ex praecipiti: mater delira necabit
in gelida fixum ripa febremque reducet:
quone malo mentem concussa? Timore deorum."
Haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico
arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.
Dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet atque
respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo.'
Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris,
qua me stultitia, quoniam non est genus unum,
insanire putas? Ego nam videor mihi sanus.
'Quid? Caput abscisum demens cum portat Agave

gnati infelicis, sibi tunc furiosa videtur?'
Stultum me fateor (liceat concedere veris)
atque etiam insanum: tantum hoc edissere, quo me
aegrotare putes animi vitio. 'Accipe. Primum
aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo
ad summum totus moduli bipedalis, et idem
corpore maiorem rides Turbonis in armis
spiritum et incessum: qui ridiculus minus illo?
An quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque verum est
tanto dissimilem et tanto certare minorem?
Absentis ranae pullis vituli pede pressis,
unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens
belua cognatos eliserit: illa rogare,
quantane? Num tantum, sufflans se, magna fuisset?
'Maior dimidio.' 'Num tantum?' Cum magis atque
se magis inflaret, 'non, si te ruperis,' inquit,
'par eris.' Haec a te non multum abludit imago.
Adde poemata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino
quae siquis sanus fecit, sanus facis et tu.
Non dico horrendam rabiem,' — iam desine! 'Cultum
maiorem censu,' teneas, Damasippe, tuis te!
'Mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores.'
O maior tandem parcas, insane, minori!

## IV.

Unde et quo Catius? 'Non est mihi tempus aventi
ponere signa novis praeceptis, qualia vincunt
Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona.'
Peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore laevo
interpellarim, sed des veniam bonus, oro.



Quodsi interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox,
sive est naturae hoc sive artis, mirus utroque.
'Quin id erat curae, quo pacto cuncta tenerem,
utpote res tenuis tenui sermone peractas.'
Ede hominis nomen, simul et, Romanus an hospes.
'Ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.
Longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento,
ut suci melioris et ut magis alba rotundis,
ponere: namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.
Cole suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris
dulcior: inriguo nihil est elutius horto.
Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,
ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
doctus eris vivam musto mersare Falerno:
hoc teneram faciet. Pratensibus optima fungis
natura est; aliis male creditur. Ille salubris
aestates peraget, qui nigris prandia moris
finiet, ante gravem quae legerit arbore solem.
Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno:
mendose; quoniam vacuis committere venis
nil nisi lene decet: leni praecordia mulso
prolueris melius. Si dura morabitur alvus,
mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae
et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coo.
Lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunae;
sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testae:
murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,
ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini,
pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum.
Nec sibi cenarum quivis temere arroget artem,
non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum.
Nec satis est cara piscis averrere mensa

ignarum quibus est ius aptius et quibus assis
languidus in cubitum iam se conviva reponet.
Umber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas
curvat aper lances carnem vitantis inertem:
nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et harundine pinguis.
Vinea submittit capreas non semper edulis.
Fecundi leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.
Piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas,
ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum.
Sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit.
Nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam;
ut siquis solum hoc, mala ne sint vina, laboret,
quali perfundat piscis securus olivo.
Massica si caelo suppones vina sereno,
nocturna, siquid crassi est, tenuabitur aura,
et decedet odor nervis inimicus: at illa
integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.
Surrentina vafer qui miscet faece Falerna
vina, columbino limum bene colligit ovo,
quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.
Tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra
potorem coclea: nam lactuca innatat acri
post vinum stomacho; perna magis et magis hillis
flagitat immorsus refici, quin omnia malit
quaecumque immundis fervent allata popinis.
Est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris
naturam. Simplex e dulci constat olivo,
quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit
non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.
Hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis
Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae.



Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco:
nam facie praestant. Venucula convenit ollis;
rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam.
Hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec,
primus et invenior piper album cum sale nigro
incretum puris circumposuisse catillis.
immane est vitium dare milia terna macello
angustoque vagos piscis urgere catino.
Magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
tractavit calicem manibus, dum furta ligurrit,
sive gravis veteri craterae limus adhaesit.
vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
consistit sumptus? Neglectis, flagitium ingens.
Ten lapides varios lutulenta radere palma
et Tyrias dare circum inlota toralia vestis,
oblitum quanto curam sumptumque minorem
haec habeant, tanto reprehendi iustius illis,
quae nisi divitibus nequeunt contingere mensis?'
Docte Cati, per amicitiam divosque rogatus
ducere me auditum, perges quocumque memento.
Nam quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta,
non tamen interpres tantundem iuveris. Adde
voltum habitumque hominis, quem tu vidisse beatus
non magni pendis, quia contigit: at mihi cura
non mediocris inest, fontis ut adire remotos
atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae.

## V.

Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti
responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res
artibus atque modis. Quid rides? 'Iamne doloso

non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque Penatis
adspicere?' O nulli quicquam mentite, vides ut
nudus inopsque domum redeam te vate; neque illic
aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus: atqui
et genus et virtus, nisi cum re, vilior alga est.
'Quando pauperiem missis ambagibus horres,
accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. Turdus
sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc
res ubi magna nitet domino sene; dulcia poma
et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,
ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives;
qui quamvis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi
tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses.'
Utne tegam spurco Damae latus? Haud ita Troiae
me gessi, certans semper melioribus. 'Ergo
pauper eris.' Fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo;
et quondam maiora tuli. Tu protinus unde
divitias aerisque ruam dic, augur, acervos.
'Dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique
testamenta senum, neu, si vafer unus et alter
insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo,
aut spem deponas aut artem inlusus omittas.
Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,
vivet uter locuples sine gnatis, improbus, ultro
qui meliorem audax vocet in ius, illius esto
defensor; fama civem causaque priorem
sperne, domi si gnatus erit fecundave coniunx.
'Quinte,' puta, aut 'Publi' (gaudent praenomine molles
auriculae), 'tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum;
ius anceps novi, causas defendere possum;
eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi, quam te



contemptum cassa nuce pauperet; haec mea cura est,
nequid tu perdas neu sis iocus.' Ire domum atque
pelliculam curare iube; fi cognitor ipse;
persta atque obdura, seu rubra Canicula findet
infantis statuas, seu pingui tentus omaso
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpis.
'Nonne vides,' aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
inquiet, 'ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer?'
Plures adnabunt thynni et cetaria crescent.
Si cui praeterea validus male filius in re
praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
heres et, siquis casus puerum egerit Orco,
in vacuum venias: perraro haec alea fallit.
Qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,
abnuere et tabulas a te removere memento,
sic tamen, ut limis rapias, quid prima secundo
cera velit versu; solus multisne coheres,
veloci percurre oculo. Plerumque recoctus
scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,
captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano.'
Num furis? An prudens ludis me obscura canendo?
'O Laërtiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non:
divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.'
Quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.
'Tempore, quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto
demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique
magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
filia Nasicae, metuentis reddere soldum.
Tum gener hoc faciet: tabulas socero dabit atque
ut legat orabit; multum Nasica negatas

accipiet tandem et tacitus leget invenietque
nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.
Illud ad haec iubeo: mulier si forte dolosa
libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis
accedas socius; laudes, lauderis ut absens;
adiuvat hoc quoque, sed vincit longe prius ipsum
expugnare caput. Scribet mala carmina vecors:
laudato. Scortator erit: cave te roget; ultro
Penelopam facilis potiori trade.' Putasne,
perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,
quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?
'Venit enim magnum donandi parca iuventus,
nec tantum Veneris quantum studiosa culinae.
Sic tibi Penelope frugi est; quae si semel uno
de sene gustarit tecum partita lucellum,
ut canis a corio numquam absterrebitur uncto.
Me sene quod dicam factum est. Anus improba Thebis
ex testamento sic est elata: cadaver
unctum oleo largo nudis umeris tulit heres;
scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo,
quod nimium institerat viventi. Cautus adito:
neu desis operae neve immoderatus abundes:
difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus; ultra
non etiam sileas: Davus sis comicus atque
stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.
Obsequio grassare; mone, si increbruit aura,
cautus uti velet carum caput; extrahe turba
oppositis umeris; aurem substringe loquaci.
Importunus amat laudari: donec 'ohe iam!'
ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge,
crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
Cum te servitio longo curaque levarit



et certum vigilans, 'quartae sit partis Ulixes,'
audieris, 'heres': ergo nunc Dama sodalis
nusquam est? Unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?'
Sparge subinde et, si paulum potes, inlacrimare; est
gaudia prodentem voltum celare. Sepulcrum
permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue: funus
egregie factum laudet vicinia. Siquis
forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu
dic, ex parte tua seu fundi sive domus sit
emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. Sed me
imperiosa trahit Proserpina: vive valeque.'

## VI.

Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
et paulum silvae super his foret. Auctius atque
di melius fecere. Bene est. Nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis.
Si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem
nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem,
si veneror stultus nihil horum: 'o si angulus ille
proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!
o si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi,
thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum
illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule!' si quod adest gratum iuvat, hac prece te oro:
pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis!
Ergo ubi me in montis et in arcem ex urbe removi,
quid prius inlustrem saturis musaque pedestri?

Nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis,
unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores
instituunt (sic dis placitum), tu carminis esto
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis: 'heia,
ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.'
Sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem
interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
Postmodo, quod mi obsit, clare certumque locuto
luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
'Quid tibi vis, insane, et quam rem agis?' improbus urget
iratis precibus: 'tu pulses omne quod obstat,
ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras?'
Hoc iuvat et melli est, non mentiar. At simul atras
ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
per caput et circa saliunt latus. 'Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad puteal cras.'
'De re communi scribae magna atque nova, te
orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.'
'Imprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis.'
Dixeris, 'experiar': 'si vis, potes,' addit et instat.
Septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus,
ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
in numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere reda
vellet iter faciens, et cui concredere nugas
hoc genus: 'hora quota est?' 'Thraex est Gallina Syro par?'
'Matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent,'
et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
Per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam



invidiae noster. Ludos spectaverat una,
luserat in campo: 'Fortunae filius!' omnes.
Frigidus a rostris manat per compita rumor:
quicumque obvius est me consulit: 'o bone, nam te
scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet,
numquid de Dacis audisti?' Nil equidem. 'Ut tu
semper eris derisor!' At omnes di exagitent me,
si quicquam. 'Quid? Militibus promissa Triquetra
praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus?'
Iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.
Perditur haec inter misero lux, non sine votis:
o rus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit
nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis
ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?
O quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque
uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo?
O noctes cenaeque deum, quibus ipse meique
ante Larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces
pasco libatis dapibus. Prout cuique libido est,
siccat inaequalis calices conviva solutus
legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis
pocula, seu modicis uvescit laetius. Ergo
sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
pertinet et nescire malum est, agitamus: utrumne
divitiis homines an sint virtute beati,
quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos,
et quae sit natura boni summumque quid eius.
Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit anilis
ex re fabellas. Siquis nam laudat Arelli
sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit: 'olim

rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum
solveret hospitiis animum. Quid multa? Neque ille
sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,
aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi
frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cena
vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo;
cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
Tandem urbanus ad hunc, 'quid te iuvat,' inquit, 'amice,
praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?
Carpe viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando
mortalis animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,
dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus,
vive memor quam sis aevi brevis.' Haec ubi dicta
agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit; inde
ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
moenia nocturni subrepere. Iamque tenebat
nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque
in locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,
multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,
quae procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris.
Ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes
continuatque dapes, nec non verniliter ipsis
fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod affert.
Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque



rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
Currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
personuit canibus. Tum rusticus, 'haud mihi vita
est opus hac,' ait et 'valeas: me silva cavusque
tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.'

## VII.

'Iamdudum ausculto et cupiens tibi dicere servus
pauca reformido.' Davusne? 'Ita, Davus, amicum
mancipium domino et frugi quod sit satis, hoc est,
ut vitale putes.' Age, libertate Decembri,
quando ita maiores voluerunt, utere; narra.
'Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget
propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,
interdum pravis obnoxia. Saepe notatus
cum tribus anellis, modo laeva Priscus inani,
vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas,
aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde
mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste,
iam moechus Romae, iam mallet doctus Athenis
vivere, Vertumnis, quotquot sunt, natus iniquis.
Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra
contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
conductum pavit: quanto constantior isdem
in vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo,
qui iam contento, iam laxo fune laborat.'
Non dices hodie, quorsum haec tam putida tendant,

furcifer? 'Ad te, inquam.' Quo pacto, pessime? 'Laudas
fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem,
siquis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses,
aut quia non sentis quod clamas rectius esse,
aut quia non firmus rectum defendis et haeres
nequicquam caeno cupiens evellere plantam.
Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem
tollis ad astra levis. Si nusquam es forte vocatus
ad cenam, laudas securum holus ac, velut usquam
vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque,
quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. Iusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire
convivam: 'nemon oleum feret ocius? Ecquis
audit?' cum magno blateras clamore fugisque.
Mulvius et scurrae, tibi non referenda precati,
discedunt. 'Etenim fateor me,' dixerit ille,
'duci ventre levem, nasum nidore supinor,
imbecillus, iners, siquid vis, adde, popino.
Tu cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro
insectere velut melior verbisque decoris
obvolvas vitium?' Quid, si me stultior ipso
quingentis empto drachmis deprenderis? Aufer
me voltu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
dum quae Crispini docuit me ianitor edo.
Te coniunx aliena capit, meretricula Davum.
Peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius? Acris ubi me
natura intendit, sub clara nuda lucerna
quaecumque excepit turgentis verbera caudae,
clunibus aut agitavit equum lasciva supinum,
dimittit neque famosum neque sollicitum, ne
ditior aut formae melioris meiat eodem.



Tu cum proiectis insignibus, anulo equestri
Romanoque habitu, prodis ex iudice Dama,
turpis odoratum caput obscurante lacerna,
non es quod simulas? Metuens induceris atque
altercante libidinibus tremis ossa pavore.
Quid refert, uri virgis ferroque necari
auctoratus eas an turpi clausus in arca,
quo te demisit peccati conscia erilis,
contractum genibus tangas caput? Estne marito
matronae peccantis in ambo iusta potestas?
In corruptorem vel iustior. Illa tamen se
non habitu mutatve loco peccatve superne,
Cum te formidet mulier neque credat amanti.
Ibis sub furcam prudens dominoque furenti
committes rem omnem et vitam et cum corpore famam.
Evasti. Credo, metues doctusque cavebis;
quaeres quando iterum paveas iterumque perire
possis, o totiens servus! Quae belua ruptis,
cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?
'Non sum moechus,' ais: neque ego, hercule, fur, ubi vasa
praetereo sapiens argentea. Tolle periclum:
iam vaga prosiliet frenis natura remotis.
Tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque
tot tantisque minor, quem ter vindicta quaterque
imposita haud umquam misera formidine privet?
Adde super, dictis quod non levius valeat: nam
sive vicarius est, qui servo paret, uti mos
vester ait, seu conservus, tibi quid sum ego? Nempe
tu, mihi qui imperitas, alii servis miser atque
duceris ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.
Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus,
quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,

responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,
externi nequid valeat per leve morari,
in quem manca ruit semper fortuna. Potesne
ex his ut proprium quid noscere? Quinque talenta
poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum
perfundit gelida, rursus vocat: eripe turpi
colla iugo, 'liber, liber sum,' dic age! Non quis:
urget enim dominus mentem non lenis et acris
subiectat lasso stimulos versatque negantem.
Vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,
qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi Rutubaeque
aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror
proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si
re vera pugnent, feriant vitentque moventes
arma viri? Nequam et cessator Davus; at ipse
subtilis veterum iudex et callidus audis.
Nil ego, si ducor libo fumante: tibi ingens
virtus atque animus cenis responsat opimis?
Obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur?
Tergo plector enim. Qui tu impunitior illa,
quae parvo sumi nequeunt, obsonia captas?
Nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae,
inlusique pedes vitiosum ferre recusant
corpus. An hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvam
furtiva mutat strigili? qui praedia vendit,
nil servile gulae parens habet? Adde quod idem
non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte
ponere, teque ipsum vitas fugitivus et erro,
iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam:
frustra: nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem,'
Unde mihi lapidem? 'Quorsum est opus?' Unde sagittas?



'Aut insanit homo aut versus facit.' Ocius hinc te
ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino.

## VIII.

Ut Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?
Nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus here illic
de medio potare die. 'Sic, ut mihi numquam
in vita fuerit melius.' Dic, si grave non est,
quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca.
'In primis Lucanus aper; leni fuit Austro
captus, ut aiebat cenae pater; acria circum
rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum
pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
His ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam
gausape purpureo mensam pertersit, et alter
sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque
posset cenantis offendere; ut Attica virgo
cum sacris Cereris, procedit fuscus Hydaspes
Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers.
Hic erus: 'Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum
te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.'
Divitias miseras! Sed quis cenantibus una,
Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi nosse laboro.
'Summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra,
si memini, Varius; cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quos Maecenas adduxerat umbras;
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra,
ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas;
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, siquid forte lateret,
indice monstraret digito: nam cetera turba,

nos, inquam, cenamus avis, conchylia, piscis,
longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum;
ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque
ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi.
Post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
ad lunam delecta: quid hoc intersit ab ipso
audieris melius. Tum Vibidius Balatroni:
'nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti,'
et calices poscit maiores. Vertere pallor
tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acris
potores, vel quod male dicunt liberius vel
fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.
Invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota
Vibidius Balatroque, secutis omnibus; imi
convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagoenis.
Adfertur squillas inter murena natantis
in patina porrecta. Sub hoc erus, 'haec gravida,' inquit,
'capta est,' deterior post partum carne futura.
His mixtum ius est: oleo, quod prima Venafri
pressit cella, garo de sucis piscis Hiberi,
vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,
dum coquitur (cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
hoc magis ullum aliud), pipere albo, non sine aceto
quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam.
Erucas viridis, inulas ego primus amaras
monstravi incoquere; inlutos Curtillus echinos,
ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat.'
Interea suspensa gravis aulaea ruinas
in patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri
quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
Nos maius veriti, postquam nihil esse pericli
sensimus, erigimur: Rufus posito capite, ut si



filius immaturus obisset, flere. Quis esset
finis, ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum
tolleret: 'heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
te deus? Ut semper gaudes inludere rebus
humanis!' Varius mappa compescere risum
vix poterat. Balatro, suspendens omnia naso,
'haec est condicio vivendi,' aiebat, 'eoque
responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori.
Tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni
sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,
ne male conditum ius apponatur, ut omnes
praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent?
Adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si,
ut modo, si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
Sed convivatoris uti ducis ingenium res
adversae nudare solent, celare secundae.'
Nasidienus ad haec: 'tibi di quaecumque preceris
commoda dent; ita vir bonus es convivaque comis;'
et soleas poscit. Tum in lecto quoque videres
stridere secreta divisos aure susurros.'
Nullos his mallem ludos spectasse; sed illa
redde age quae deinceps risisti. 'Vibidius dum
quaerit de pueris num sit quoque fracta lagoena
quod sibi poscenti non dantur pocula, dumque
ridetur fictis rerum Balatrone secundo,
Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte
emendaturus fortunam. Deinde secuti
mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
membra gruis sparsi sale multo non sine farre,
pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae,
et leporum avolsos, ut multo suavius, armos,
quam si cum lumbis quis edit; tum pectore adusto

vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes,
suavis res, si non causas narraret earum et
naturas dominus: quem nos sic fugimus ulti,
ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
Canidia adflasset peior serpentibus Afris.'

# EPISTULARUM

## LIBER PRIMUS.

### I.

Prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo?
Non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro,
ne populum extrema totiens exoret harena.
Est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem:
'solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.'
Nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono;
quid verum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum;
condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.
Ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter:
nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,
quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.
Nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,
virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles;
nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor
et mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.
Ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque
longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus

pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum,
sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quae spem
consiliumque morantur agendi naviter id quod
aeque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aeque,
aeque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.
Restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.
Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungui;
nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,
nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.
Est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
Fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus:
sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem
possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.
Laudis amore tumes; sunt certa piacula, quae te
ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mitescere possit,
si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.
Virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima
stultitia caruisse. Vides, quae maxima credis
esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,
quanto devites animi capitisque labore;
impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes:
ne cures ea, quae stulte miraris et optas,
discere et audire et meliori credere non vis?
Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?
Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
'O cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est,



virtus post nummos!' Haec Ianus summus ab imo
prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque,
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
Est animus tibi, sunt mores et lingua fidesque,
sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt;
plebs eris. At pueri ludentes, 'rex eris,' aiunt,
'si recte facies.' Hic murus aeneus esto,
nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.
Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum est
nenia, quae regnum recte facientibus offert,
et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?
Isne tibi melius suadet, qui rem facias, rem,
si possis, recte, si non, quo cumque modo rem,
ut propius spectes lacrimosa poemata Pupi,
an qui Fortunae te responsare superbae
liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?
Quodsi me populus Romanus forte roget, cur
non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruar isdem,
nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,
olim quod volpes aegroto cauta leoni
respondit, referam: 'quia me vestigia terrent,
omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.'
Belua multorum es capitum. Nam quid sequar aut
quem?
Pars hominum gestit conducere publica; sunt qui
frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras
excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
multis occulto crescit res faenore. Verum
esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri:
idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
'Nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis,'
si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem

festinantis eri; cui si vitiosa libido
fecerit auspicium, 'cras ferramenta Teanum
tolletis, fabri!' Lectus genialis in aula est:
nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita;
si non est, iurat bene solis esse maritis.
Quo teneam voltus mutantem Protea nodo?
Quid pauper? Ride: mutat cenacula, lectos,
balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aeque
nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis.
Si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos
occurri, rides; si forte subucula pexae
trita subest tunicae, vel si toga dissidet impar,
rides: quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum,
quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
aestuat et vitae discouvenit ordine toto,
diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?
Insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides,
nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
a praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum
cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
de te pendentis, te respicientis amici.
Ad summam: sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum,
praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

## II.

Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi;
qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.



Cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te distinet, audi.
Fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
Graecia barbariae lento collisa duello,
stultorum regum et populorum continet aestus.
Antenor censet belli praecidere causam:
quid Paris? Ut salvus regnet vivatque beatus
cogi posse negat. Nestor componere litis
inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden;
hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque.
Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.
Seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine et ira
Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.
Rursus, quid virtus et quid sapientia possit,
utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen,
qui domitor Troiae multorum providus urbes
et mores hominum inspexit, latumque per aequor,
dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.
Sirenum voces et Circae pocula nosti;
quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors,
vixisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus.
Nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,
sponsi Penelopae nebulones, Alcinoique
in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus,
cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et
ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere somnum.
Ut iugulent hominem, surgunt de nocte latrones;
ut te ipsum serves, non expergisceris? Atqui
si noles sanus, curres hydropicus; et ni
posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,

invidia vel amore vigil torquebere. Nam cur
quae laedunt oculum festinas demere; siquid
est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
Dimidium facti qui coepit habet; sapere aude;
incipe! Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam,
rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.
Quaeritur argentum puerisque beata creandis
uxor, et incultae pacantur vomere silvae.
Quod satis est cui contingit, nihil amplius optet.
Non domus et fundus, non aeris acervus et auri
aegroto domini deduxit corpore febris,
non animo curas: valeat possessor oportet,
si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
Qui cupit aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus et res,
ut lippum pictae tabulae, fomenta podagram,
auriculas citharae collecta sorde dolentis.
Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis acescit.
Sperne voluptates; nocet empta dolore voluptas.
Semper avarus eget; certum voto pete finem.
Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis:
invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
maius tormentum. Qui non moderabitur irae,
infectum volet esse dolor quod suaserit et mens,
dum poenas odio per vim festinat inulto.
Ira furor brevis est: animum rege; qui nisi paret
imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.
Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister
ire viam qua monstret eques; venaticus, ex quo
tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,
militat in silvis catulus. Nunc adbibe puro
pectore verba puer, nunc te melioribus offer.



Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
testa diu. Quodsi cessas aut strenuus anteis,
nec tardum opperior nec praecedentibus insto.

## III.

Iuli Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris
Claudius Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,
an freta vicinas inter currentia turris,
an pingues Asiae campi collesque morantur?
Quid studiosa cohors operum struit? Hoc quoque curo.
Quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?
Bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum?
Quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora?
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,
fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos.
Ut valet? Ut meminit nostri? Fidibusne Latinis
Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa,
an tragica desaevit et ampullatur in arte?
Quid mihi Celsus agit? Monitus multumque monendus,
privatas ut quaerat opes et tangere vitet
scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo,
ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
furtivis nudata coloribus. Ipse quid audes?
Quae circumvolitas agilis thyma? Non tibi parvum
ingenium, non incultum est et turpiter hirtum.
Seu linguam causis acuis seu civica iura
respondere paras seu condis amabile carmen,

prima feres hederae victricis praemia. Quodsi
frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
quo te caelestis sapientia duceret, ires.
Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari.
Debes hoc etiam rescribere, sit tibi curae
quantae conveniat Munatius; an male sarta
gratia nequicquam coit et rescinditur ac vos
seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat
indomita cervice feros? Ubicumque locorum
vivitis indigni fraternum rumpere foedus,
pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca.

## IV.

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,
an tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris,
curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?
Non tu corpus eras sine pectore: di tibi formam,
di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.
Quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,
qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui
gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,
et mundus victus non deficiente crumena?
Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras
omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:
grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.
Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.



## V.

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis
nec modica cenare times holus omne patella,
supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustris
inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.
Si melius quid habes, arcesse, vel imperium fer.
Iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex.
Mitte levis spes et certamina divitiarum
et Moschi causam: cras nato Caesare festus
dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit
aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.
Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?
Parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus
adsidet insano. Potare et spargere flores
incipiam patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.
Quid non ebrietas designat? Operta recludit,
spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem,
sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artes.
Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
Haec ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non
invitus, ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
corruget naris, ne non et cantharus et lanx
ostendat tibi te, ne fidos inter amicos
sit qui dicta foras eliminet, ut coeat par
iungaturque pari. Butram tibi Septiciumque,
et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
detinet, adsumam. Locus est et pluribus umbris:
sed nimis arta premunt olidae convivia caprae.
Tu quotus esse velis rescribe et rebus omissis
atria servantem postico falle clientem.

## VI.

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum.
Hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis
tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla
imbuti spectent: quid censes munera terrae,
quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos,
ludicra quid plausus et amici dona Quiritis,
quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis et ore?
Qui timet his adversa, fere miratur eodem
quo cupiens pacto: pavor est utrobique molestus,
improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
Gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem,
si, quicquid vidit melius peiusve sua spe,
defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet?
Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui,
ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.
I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes
suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores;
gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem;
navus mane forum et vespertinus pete tectum,
ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
Mutus et (indignum, quod sit peioribus ortus)
hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi.
Quicquid sub terra est, in apricum proferet aetas,
defodiet condetque nitentia. Cum bene notum
porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi,
ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus.
Si latus aut renes morbo temptantur acuto,
quaere fugam morbi. Vis recte vivere (quis non?):
Si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis



hoc age deliciis. Virtutem verba putas et
lucum ligna: cave ne portus occupet alter,
ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas;
mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera porro et
tertia succedant et quae pars quadret acervum.
Scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos
et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat,
ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
Mancupiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex:
ne fueris hic tu. Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,
si posset centum scaenae praebere rogatus,
'qui possum tot?' ait; 'tamen et quaeram et, quot habebo,
mittam:' post paulo scribit sibi milia quinque
esse domi chlamydum; partem vel tollĕret omnis.
Exīlis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt
et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus. Ergo
si res sola potest facere et servare beatum,
hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
Si fortunatum species et gratia praestat,
mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum
qui fodicet latus et cogat trans pondera dextram
porrigere: 'hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina;
cui libet hic fasces dabit eripietque curule
cui volet importunus ebur.' 'Frater,' 'pater' adde:
ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta.
Si bene qui cenat bene vivit, lucet, eamus
quo ducit gula, piscemur, venemur, ut olim
Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos
differtum transire forum populumque iubebat,
unus ut e multis populo spectante referret
emptum mulus aprum. Crudi tumidique lavemur,

quid deceat, quid non, obliti, Caerite cera
digni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixi,
cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque
nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque.
Vive, vale! Siquid novisti rectius istis,
candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

## VII.

Quinque dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui,
si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegrotare timenti,
Maecenas, veniam, dum ficus prima calorque
dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris,
dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet,
officiosaque sedulitas et opella forensis
adducit febris et testamenta resignat.
Quodsi bruma nives Albanis inlinet agris,
ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcet
contractusque leget; te, dulcis amice, reviset
cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima.
Non quo more piris vesci Calaber iubet hospes,
tu me fecisti locupletem. 'Vescere sodes.'
'Iam satis est.' 'At tu quantum vis tolle.' 'Benigne.'
'Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.'
'Tam teneor dono quam si dimittar onustus.'
'Ut libet; haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques.'
Prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit;
haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis.



Vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus,
nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis.
Dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis.
Quodsi me noles usquam discedere, reddes
forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos,
reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum et
inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae.
Forte per angustam tenuis nitedula rimam
repserat in cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus
ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra;
cui mustela procul, 'si vis,' ait, 'effugere istinc,
macra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti.'
Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno;
nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium nec
otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.
Saepe verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque
audisti coram nec verbo parcius absens:
inspice si possum donata reponere laetus.
Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei:
'non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis
porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae:
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.'
Parvum parva decent: mihi iam non regia Roma,
sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelle Tarentum.
Strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis
clarus, ab officiis octavam circiter horam
dum redit atque foro nimium distare Carinas
iam grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt,
adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra
cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguis.
'Demetri,' (puer hic non laeve iussa Philippi
accipiebat) 'abi, quaere et refer, unde domo, quis,

cuius fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono.'
It, redit et narrat, Volteium nomine Menam,
praeconem, tenui censu, sine crimine, notum
et properare loco et cessare et quaerere et uti,
gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo,
et ludis et post decisa negotia campo.
'Scitari libet ex ipso quodcumque refers: dic
ad cenam veniat.' Non sane credere Mena,
mirari secum tacitus. Quid multa? 'Benigne,'
respondet. 'Neget ille mihi?' 'Negat improbus et te
neglegit aut horret.' Volteium mane Philippus
vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello
occupat et salvere iubet prior: ille Philippo
excusare laborem et mercennaria vincla,
quod non mane domum venisset, denique quod non
providisset eum. 'Sic ignovisse putato
me tibi, si cenas hodie mecum.' 'Ut libet.' 'Ergo
post nonam venies: nunc i, rem strenuus auge.'
Ut ventum ad cenam est, dicenda tacenda locutus
tandem dormitum dimittitur. Hic ubi saepe
occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,
mane cliens et iam certus conviva, iubetur
rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.
Impositus mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum
non cessat laudare. Videt ridetque Philippus,
et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quaerit,
dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem
promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.
Mercatur. Ne te longis ambagibus ultra
quam satis est morer, ex nitido fit rusticus atque
sulcos et vineta crepat mera, praeparat ulmos,
immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.



Verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellae,
spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando,
offensus damnis media de nocte caballum
arripit iratusque Philippi tendit ad aedis.
Quem simul aspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus,
'durus,' ait, 'Voltei, nimis attentusque videris
esse mihi.' 'Pol me miserum, patrone, vocares,
si velles,' inquit, 'verum mihi ponere nomen.
Quod te per Genium dextramque deosque Penatis
obsecro et obtestor, vitae me redde priori!'
Qui semel aspexit, quantum dimissa petitis
praestent, mature redeat repetatque relicta.
Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

## VIII.

Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano
Musa rogata refer, comiti scribaeque Neronis.
Si quaeret quid agam, dic multa et pulchra minantem
vivere nec recte nec suaviter; haud quia grando
contuderit vitis oleamque momorderit aestus,
nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris;
sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto
nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet aegrum;
fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
cur me funesto properent arcere veterno;
quae nocuere sequar, fugiam quae profore credam;
Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.
Post haec, ut valeat, quo pacto rem gerat et se,
ut placeat iuveni percontare utque cohorti.
Si dicet, 'recte,' primum gaudere, subinde

praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento:
'ut tu fortunam, sic nos te, Celse, feremus.'

## IX.

Septimius, Claudi, nimirum intellegit unus,
quanti me facias. Nam cum rogat et prece cogit
scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,
dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis,
munere cum fungi propioris censet amici,
quid possim videt ac novit me valdius ipso.
Multa quidem dixi cur excusatus abirem;
sed timui mea ne finxisse minora putarer,
dissimilator opis propriae, mihi commodus uni.
Sic ego maioris fugiens opprobria culpae
frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia. Quodsi
depositum laudas ob amici iussa pudorem,
scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque.

## X.

Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere iubemus
ruris amatores. Hac in re scilicet una
multum dissimiles, at cetera paene gemelli
fraternis animis (quicquid negat alter, et alter)
adnuimus pariter, vetuli notique columbi.
Tu nidum servas, ego laudo ruris amoeni
rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.
Quid quaeris? Vivo et regno, simul ista reliqui
quae vos ad caelum effertis rumore secundo,
utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso,



pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placentis.
Vivere naturae si convenienter oportet,
ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum,
novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura
leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis,
cum semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum?
Est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?
Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
Purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,
quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.
Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret
et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.
Non, qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum,
certius accipiet damnum propiusve medullis,
quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
Quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae,
mutatae quatient. Siquid mirabere, pones
invitus. Fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.
Cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
imploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit;
sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.
Sic, qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
libertate caret, dominum vehet improbus atque
serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
Cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,

si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.
Laetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,
nec me dimittes incastigatum, ubi plura
cogere quam satis est ac non cessare videbor.
Imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,
tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.
Haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae,
excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus.

## XI.

Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos,
quid concinna Samos, quid Croesi regia Sardis,
Zmyrna quid et Colophon? Maiora minorave fama?
Cunctane prae campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?
an venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una,
an Lebedum laudas odio maris atque viarum?
Scis Lebedus quid sit: Gabiis desertior atque
Fidenis vicus; tamen illic vivere vellem,
oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis,
Neptunum procul e terra spectare furentem.
Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit, imbre lutoque
aspersus, volet in caupona vivere; nec qui
frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat
ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam;
nec si te validus iactaverit Auster in alto,
idcirco navem trans Aegaeum mare vendas.
Incolumi Rhodos et Mytilene pulchra facit quod
paenula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,
per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.
Dum licet ac voltum servat Fortuna benignum,
Romae laudetur Samos et Chios et Rhodos absens.



Tu quamcumque deus tibi fortunaverit horam
grata sume manu, neu dulcia differ in annum;
ut, quocumque loco fueris, vixisse libenter
te dicas. Nam si ratio et prudentia curas,
non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert,
caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.
Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque
quadrigis petimus bene vivere. Quod petis hic est,
est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

## XII.

Fructibus Agrippae Siculis, quos colligis, Icci.
Si recte frueris, non est ut copia maior
ab Iove donari possit tibi. Tolle querellas:
pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.
Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
divitiae poterunt regales addere maius.
Si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis
vivis et urtica, sic vives protinus, ut te
confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret,
vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit,
vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora.
Miramur si Democriti pecus edit agellos
cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox;
cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri
nil parvum sapias et adhuc sublimia cures:
quae mare compescant causae, quid temperet annum,
stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errent,
quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem,
quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors,
Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen.

Verum seu piscis seu porrum et caepe trucidas,
utere Pompeio Grospho et, siquid petet, ultro
defer: nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et aequum.
Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid dest.
Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res,
Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Phraates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor; aurea fruges
Italiae pleno defundit Copia cornu.

## XIII.

Ut proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vinni,
si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet;
ne studio nostri pecces odiumque libellis
sedulus importes opera vehemente minister.
Si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae,
abicito potius quam quo perferre iuberis
clitellas ferus impingas Asinaeque paternum
cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias.
Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas.
Victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,
sic positum servabis onus: ne forte sub ala
fasciculum portes librorum ut rusticus agnum,
ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrria lanae,
ut cum pilleolo soleas conviva tribulis.
Ne volgo narres te sudavisse ferendo
carmina quae possint oculos aurisque morari
Caesaris. Oratus multa prece nitere, porro
vade. Vale: cave ne titubes mandataque frangas.



## XIV.

Vilice silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
quem tu fastidis habitatum quinque focis et
quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres,
certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu
evellas agro et melior sit Horatius an res.
Me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur,
fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque
fert et amat spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.
Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum.
Cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors.
Stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur inique:
in culpa est animus, qui se non effugit umquam.
Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,
nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas:
me constare mihi scis et discedere tristem
quandocumque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
Non eadem miramur; eo disconvenit inter
meque et te. Nam quae deserta et inhospita tesqua
credis, amoena vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit
quae tu pulchra putas. Fornix tibi et uncta popina
incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod
angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius uva,
nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna
quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cuius
ad strepitum salias terrae gravis: et tamen urges
iam pridem non tacta ligonibus arva bovemque
disiunctum curas et strictis frondibus exples;
addit opus pigro rivus, si decidit imber,
multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato.

Nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat audi.
Quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli,
quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci,
quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,
cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba;
nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat:
rident vicini glaebas et saxa moventem.
Cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis;
horum tu in numerum voto ruis: invidet usum
lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti.
Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.
Quam scit uterque, libens, censebo, exerceat artem.

## XV.

Quae sit hiems Veliae, quod caelum, Vala, Salerni,
quorum hominum regio et qualis via (nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis
me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
per medium frigus. Sane murteta relinqui
dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum
sulfura contemni vicus gemit, invidus aegris,
qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura.
Mutandus locus est et deversoria nota
praeteragendus equus. 'Quo tendis? Non mihi Cumas
est iter aut Baias,' laeva stomachosus habena
dicet eques; sed equi frenato est auris in ore);
maior utrum populum frumenti copia pascat;
collectosne bibant imbres puteosne perennis



iugis aquae (nam vina nihil moror illius orae.
Rure meo possum quidvis perferre patique:
ad mare cum veni, generosum et lene requiro,
quod curas abigat, quod cum spe divite manet
in venas animumque meum, quod verba ministret,
quod me Lucanae iuvenem commendet amicae);
tractus uter pluris lepores, uter educet apros;
utra magis piscis et echinos aequora celent,
pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti,
scribere te nobis, tibi nos accredere par est.
Maenius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis
fortiter absumptis urbanus coepit haberi
scurra, vagus non qui certum praesepe teneret,
impransus non qui civem dinosceret hoste,
quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus,
pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,
quicquid quaesierat, ventri donabat avaro.
Hic ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil
aut paulum abstulerat, patinas cenabat omasi,
vilis et agninae, tribus ursis quod satis esset;
scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
diceret urendos correctus Bestius. Idem,
quicquid erat nactus praedae maioris, ubi omne
verterat in fumum et cinerem, 'non hercule miror,'
aiebat, 'siqui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso
nil melius turdo, nil volva pulchrius ampla.'
Nimirum hic ego sum. Nam tuta et parvola laudo,
cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:
verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

## XVI.

Ne perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quincti,
arvo pascat erum an bacis opulentet olivae,
pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo,
scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.
Continui montes si dissocientur opaca
valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat sol,
laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet,
temperiem laudes. Quid, si rubicunda benigni
corna vepres et pruna ferant? Si quercus et ilex
multa fruge pecus, multa dominum iuvet umbra?
Dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,
infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
Hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae,
incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus horis.
Tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis.
Iactamus iam pridem omnis te Roma beatum;
sed vereor ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas,
neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum,
neu, si te populus sanum recteque valentem
dictitet, occultam febrem sub tempus edendi
dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.
Stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
Siquis bella tibi terra pugnata marique
dicat et his verbis vacuas permulceat auris:
'Tene magis salvum populus velit an populum tu,
servet in ambiguo, qui consulit et tibi et urbi,
Iuppiter,' Augusti laudes agnoscere possis:
cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari,



respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine? 'Nempe
vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.'
Qui dedit hoc hodie, cras, si volet, auferet, ut si
detulerit fasces indigno, detrahet idem.
'Pone, meum est' inquit: pono tristisque recedo.
Idem, si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum,
contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum,
mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?
Falsus honor iuvat et mendax infamia terret
quem nisi mendosum et medicandum? Vir bonus
est quis?
'Qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat,
quo multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites,
quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur.'
Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota
introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora.
'Nec furtum feci nec fugi,' si mihi dicat
servus, 'habes pretium, loris non ureris,' aio.
'Non hominem occidi': 'non pasces in cruce corvos.'
'Sum bonus et frugi': renuit negitatque Sabellus.
Cautus enim metuit foveam lupus accipiterque
suspectos laqueos et opertum miluus hamum.
Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore.
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae:
sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.
Nam de mille fabae modiis cum subripis unum,
damnum est, non facinus, mihi pacto lenius isto.
Vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal,
quandocumque deos vel porco vel bove placat,
'Iane pater!' clare, clare cum dixit, 'Apollo!'
labra movet metuens audiri, 'pulchra Laverna,
da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri,

noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem.'
Qui melior servo, qui liberior sit avarus,
in triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,
non video; nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque; porro
qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit umquam.
Perdidit arma, locum virtutis deseruit, qui
semper in augenda festinat et obruitur re.
Vendere cum possis captivum, occidere noli;
serviet utiliter: sine pascat durus aretque,
naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis,
annonae prosit, portet frumenta penusque.
Vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere: 'Pentheu,
rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
indignum coges?' 'Adimam bona.' 'Nempe pecus, rem,
lectos, argentum: tollas licet.' 'In manicis et
compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo.'
'Ipse deus, simul atque volam, me solvet.' Opinor,
hoc sentit 'moriar.' Mors ultima linea rerum est.

## XVII.

Quamvis, Scaeva, satis per te tibi consulis et scis
quo tandem pacto deceat maioribus uti,
disce, docendus adhuc quae censet amiculus, ut si
caecus iter monstrare velit; tamen aspice siquid
et nos quod cures proprium fecisse loquamur.
Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam
delectat, si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
si laedit caupona, Ferentinum ire iubebo.
Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis,
nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit.



Si prodesse tuis pauloque benignius ipsum
te tractare voles, accedes siccus ad unctum.
'Si pranderet holus patienter, regibus uti
nollet Aristippus.' 'Si sciret regibus uti,
fastidiret holus qui me notat.' Utrius horum
verba probes et facta doce, vel iunior audi
cur sit Aristippi potior sententia. Namque
mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt:
'scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu: rectius hoc et
splendidius multo est. Equus ut me portet, alat rex,
officium facio: tu poscis vilia, verum
dante minor, quamvis fers te nullius egentem.'
Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,
temptantem maiora, fere praesentibus aequum.
Contra, quem duplici panno patientia velat,
mirabor vitae via si conversa decebit.
Alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum,
quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet
personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque;
alter Mileti textam cane peius et angui
vitabit chlamydem, morietur frigore, si non
rettuleris pannum. Refer et sine vivat ineptus.
Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostis
attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat:
principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.
Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.
Sedit qui timuit, ne non succederet: 'Esto.
Quid, qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter?' Atqui
hic est aut nusquam, quod quaerimus. Hic onus horret,
ut parvis animis et parvo corpore maius;
hic subit et perfert. Aut virtus nomen inane est,
aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir.

Coram rege suo de paupertate tacentes
plus poscente ferent: distat, sumasne pudenter
an rapias; atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons.
'Indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,
et fundus nec vendibilis nec pascere firmus,'
qui dicit, clamat, 'victum date!' succinit alter,
'et mihi!' dividuo findetur munere quadra.
Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet
plus dapis et rixae multo minus invidiaeque.
Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus amoenum
qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbres,
aut cistam effractam et subducta viatica plorat,
nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam,
saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis, uti mox
nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.
Nec semel inrisus triviis attollere curat
fracto crure planum. Licet illi plurima manet
lacrima, per sanctum iuratus dicat Osirim:
'Credite, non ludo; crudeles, tollite claudum!'
'Quaere peregrinum,' vicinia rauca reclamat.

## XVIII.

Si bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli,
scurrantis speciem praebere, professus amicum.
Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque
discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus.
Est huic diversum vitio vitium prope maius,
asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque,
quae se commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris,
dum volt libertas dici mera veraque virtus.
Virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum.



Alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi
derisor lecti sic nutum divitis horret,
sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit,
ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro
reddere vel partis mimum tractare secundas.
Alter rixatus, de lana saepe caprina,
propugnat nugis armatus scilicet: 'ut non
sit mihi prima fides?' et, 'vere quod placet ut non
acriter elatrem? Pretium aetas altera sordet.'
Ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Docilis plus;
Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi.
Quem damnosa Venus, quem praeceps alea nudat,
gloria quem supra vires et vestit et unguit,
quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famesque,
quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus,
saepe decem vitiis instructior, odit et horret,
aut, si non odit, regit ac veluti pia mater
plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem
volt et ait prope vera: 'meae (contendere noli)
stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvola res est.
Arta decet sanum comitem toga; desine mecum
certare. Eutrapelus, cuicumque nocere volebat,
vestimenta dabat pretiosa: beatus enim iam
cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,
dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum
officium, nummos alienos pascet, ad imum
Thraex erit aut holitoris aget mercede caballum.'
Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius umquam,
commissumque teges et vino tortus et ira.
Nec tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprendes,
nec, cum venari volet ille, poemata panges.
Gratia sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque

Zethi, dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
conticuit lyra. Fraternis cessisse putatur
moribus Amphion: tu cede potentis amici
lenibus imperiis, quotiensque educet in agros
Aetolis onerata plagis iumenta canesque,
surge et inhumanae senium depone Camenae,
cenes ut pariter pulmenta laboribus empta:
Romanis sollemne viris opus, utile famae
vitaeque et membris; praesertim cum valeas et
vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum
possis; adde virilia quod speciosius arma
non est qui tractet: scis quo clamore coronae
proelia sustineas campestria; denique saevam
militiam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti
sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit
nunc et siquid abest Italis adiudicat armis.
Ac ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis absis,
quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque
curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno:
partitur lintres exercitus, Actia pugna
te duce per pueros hostili more refertur,
adversarius est frater, lacus Hadria, donec
alterutrum velox Victoria fronde coronet.
Consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te
fautor, utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.
Protinus ut moneam (siquid monitoris eges tu)
quid de quoque viro et cui dicas, saepe videto.
Percontatorem fugito: nam garrulus idem est,
nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures,
et semel emissum volat inrevocabile verbum.
Non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerve
intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici,



ne dominus pueri pulchri caraeve puellae
munere te parvo beet aut incommodus angat.
Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice, ne mox
incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.
Fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus: ergo
quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri,
ut penitus notum si temptent crimina, serves
tuterisque tuo fidentem praesidio: qui
dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid
ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis?
Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,
et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires.
Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici:
expertus metuit. Tu, dum tua navis in alto est,
hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.
Oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosi,
sedatum celeres, agilem navumque remissi;
[potores bibuli media de nocte Falerni]
oderunt porrecta negantem pocula, quamvis
nocturnos iures te formidare tepores.
Deme supercilio nubem: plerumque modestus
occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi.
Inter cuncta leges et percontabere doctos,
qua ratione queas traducere leniter aevum,
num te semper inops agitet vexetque cupido,
num pavor et rerum mediocriter utilium spes,
virtutem doctrina paret naturane donet,
quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum
an secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.
Me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus,

quid sentire putas, quid credis, amice, precari?
'Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, et mihi vivam
quod superest aevi, siquid superesse volunt di;
sit bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum
copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae.
Sed satis est orare Iovem, qui ponit et aufert,
det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo.'

## XIX.

Prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,
nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt,
quae scribuntur aquae potoribus. Ut male sanos
adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas,
vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae.
Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus;
Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma
prosiluit dicenda. 'Forum putealque Libonis
mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis':
hoc simul edixi, non cessavere poetae
nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.
Quid? Siquis voltu torvo ferus et pede nudo
exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem,
virtutemne repraesentet moresque Catonis?
Rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua,
dum studet urbanus tenditque disertus haberi.
Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile: quodsi
pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum.
O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe
bilem, saepe iocum vestri movēre tumultus!
Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,



non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fidet,
dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
Ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes,
quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,
temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
nec socerum quaerit quem versibus oblinat atris,
nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
Hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
volgavi fidicen; iuvat immemorata ferentem
ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
Scire velis, mea cur ingratus opuscula lector
laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus:
non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
impensis cenarum et tritae munere vestis;
non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor.
Hinc illae lacrimae. 'Spissis indigna theatris
scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus,'
si dixi, 'rides,' ait, 'et Iovis auribus ista
servas: fidis enim manare poetica mella
te solum, tibi pulcher.' Ad haec ego naribus uti
formido et, luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,
'displicet iste locus,' clamo et diludia posco.
Ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,
ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.

## XX.

Vertumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,
scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
Odisti clavis et grata sigilla pudico,
paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
non ita nutritus. Fuge quo descendere gestis.
Non erit emisso reditus tibi. 'Quid miser egi?
Quid volui?' dices, ubi quis te laeserit; et scis
in breve te cogi, cum plenus languet amator.
Quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,
carus eris Romae, donec te deserat aetas:
contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere volgi
coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertis
aut fugies Uticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.
Ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille
qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum
iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?
Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
Cum tibi sol tepidus pluris admoverit auris,
me libertino natum patre et in tenui re
maiores pinnas nido extendisse loqueris,
ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas;
me primis urbis belli placuisse domique,
corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
Forte meum siquis te percontabitur aevum,
me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembris,
collegam Lepidum quo dixit Lollius anno.

# EPISTULARUM

## LIBER SECUNDUS.

### I.

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,
si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.
Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,
post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,
dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
componunt, agros adsignant, oppida condunt,
ploravere suis non respondere favorem
speratum meritis. Diram qui contudit hydram
notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
urit enim fulgore suo, qui praegravat artis
infra se positas; exstinctus amabitur idem.
Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores
iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras,
nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.
Sed tuus hic populus, sapiens et iustus in uno
te nostris ducibus, te Grais anteferendo,
cetera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
aestimat, et nisi quae terris semota suisque

temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit,
sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantis,
quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum
vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,
pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum
dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.
Si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque
scripta vel optima, Romani pensantur eadem
scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur:
nil intra est olea, nil extra est in nuce duri;
venimus ad summum fortunae, pingimus atque
psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit,
scire velim, chartis pretium quotus arroget annus.
Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter
vilis atque novos? Excludat iurgia finis.
'Est vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos.'
Quid, qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno,
inter quos referendus erit? Veteresne poetas,
an quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?
'Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste,
qui vel mense brevi vel toto est iunior anno.'
Utor permisso, caudaeque pilos ut equinae
paulatim vello et demo unum, demo etiam unum,
dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi,
qui redit in fastos et virtutem aestimat annis
miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.
Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus,
ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur,
quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.
Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret



paene recens? Adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.
Ambigitur quotiens uter utro sit prior, aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,
dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,
vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
Hos ediscit et hos arto stipata theatro
spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poetas
ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.
Interdum volgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.
Si veteres ita miratur laudatque poetas,
ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.
Si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,
et sapit et mecum facit et Iove iudicat aequo.
Non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi
esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare; sed emendata videri
pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror.
Inter quae verbum emicuit si forte decorum,
si versus paulo concinnior unus et alter,
iniuste totum ducit venditque poema.
Indignor quicquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
compositum inlepideve putetur, sed quia nuper,
nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem et praemia posci.
Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attae
fabula si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem
cuncti paene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner,
quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit;
vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducunt,
vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus et quae
imberbes didicere senes perdenda fateri.

Iam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat, et illud,
quod mecum ignorat, solus volt scire videri,
ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.
Quodsi tam Graecis novitas invisa fuisset
quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus? Aut quid haberet,
quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?
Ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis
coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa,
nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum,
marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris amavit,
suspendit picta voltum mentemque tabella,
nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedis;
sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.
Hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi.
Romae dulce diu fuit et sollemne reclusa
mane domo vigilare, clienti promere iura,
cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos,
maiores audire, minori dicere, per quae
crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.
Quid placet aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?
Mutavit mentem populus levis et calet uno
scribendi studio; puerique patresque severi
fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.
Ipse ego, qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus,
invenior Parthis mendacior et prius orto
sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.
Navem agere ignarus navis timet; habrotonum aegro
non audet nisi qui didicit dare; quod medicorum est
promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri:
scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.



Hic error tamen et levis haec insania quantas
virtutes habeat, sic collige. Vatis avarus
non temere est animus; versus amat, hoc studet unum;
detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;
non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam
pupillo; vivit siliquis et pane secundo;
militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi,
si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna iuvari.
Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat,
torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem,
mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,
asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae,
recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis
instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum.
Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
Poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentit,
caelestis implorat aquas docta prece blandus,
avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit,
impetrat et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum.
Carmine di superi placantur, carmine manes.
Agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati,
condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo
corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
cum sociis operum, pueris et coniuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
libertasque recurrentis accepta per annos
lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas

ire domos impune minax. Doluere cruento
dente lacessiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
condicione super communi; quin etiam lex
poenaque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
describi; vertere modum, formidine fustis
ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.
Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis
intulit agresti Latio: sic horridus ille
defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus
munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum
manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
Serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit,
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.
Temptavit quoque rem, si digne vertere posset,
et placuit sibi natura sublimis et acer:
nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet,
sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.
Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto
plus oneris, quanto veniae minus. Adspice Plautus
quo pacto partis tutetur amantis ephebi,
ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi,
quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,
quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco.
Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.
Quem tulit ad scaenam ventoso Gloria curru,
exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:
sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
subruit aut reficit. Valeat res ludicra, si me
palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.



Saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,
quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
indocti stolidique et depugnare parati,
si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.
Verum equitis quoque iam migravit ab aure voluptas
omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
Quattuor aut pluris aulaea premuntur in horas,
dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae;
mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis,
esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves,
captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.
Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus; seu
diversum confusa genus panthera camelo
sive elephans albus volgi converteret ora,
spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis
ut sibi praebentem nimio spectacula plura:
scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
fabellam surdo. Nam quae pervincere voces
evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum,
tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes
divitiaeque peregrinae: quibus oblitus actor
cum stetit in scaena, concurrit dextera laevae.
'Dixit adhuc aliquid?' 'Nil sane.' 'Quid placet ergo?'
'Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.'
Ac ne forte putes me, quae facere ipse recusem,
cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne:
ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
ire poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
ut magus et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.

Verum age et his, qui se lectori credere malunt
quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi,
curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum
vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,
ut studio maiore petant Helicona virentem.
multa quidem nobis facimus mala saepe poetae
(ut vineta egomet caedam mea), cum tibi librum
sollicito damus aut fesso; cum laedimur, unum
siquis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum;
cum loca iam recitata revolvimus inrevocati;
cum lamentamur non apparere labores
nostros et tenui deducta poemata filo;
cum speramus eo rem venturam, ut, simul atque
carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro
arcessas et egere vetes et scribere cogas.
Sed tamen est operae pretium cognoscere, qualis
aedituos habeat belli spectata domique
virtus, indigno non committenda poetae.
Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt
atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo
splendida facta linunt. Idem rex ille, poema
qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
edicto vetuit nequis se praeter Apellen
pingeret aut alius Lysippo duceret aera
fortis Alexandri voltum simulantia. Quodsi
iudicium subtile videndis artibus illud
ad libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares,
Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum.
At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque



munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt
dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae,
nec magis expressi voltus per aenea signa,
quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum
clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallem
repentis per humum quam res componere gestas,
terrarumque situs et flumina dicere et arces
montibus impositas et barbara regna tuisque
auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,
claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum
et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam,
si quantum cuperem possem quoque; sed neque parvum
carmen maiestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.
Sedulitas autem stulte quem diligit urget,
praecipue cum se numeris commendat et arte:
discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
quod quis deridet quam quod probat et veneratur.
Nil moror officium quod me gravat, ac neque ficto
in peius voltu proponi cereus usquam
nec prave factis decorari versibus opto,
ne rubeam pingui donatus munere et una
cum scriptore meo capsa porrectus operta
deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores
et piper et quicquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

## II.

Flore, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
siquis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum
Tibure vel Gabiis et tecum sic agat: 'hic et

candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos
fiet eritque tuus nummorum milibus octo,
verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus erilis,
litterulis Graecis imbutus, idoneus arti
cuilibet, argilla quidvis imitaberis uda;
quin etiam canet indoctum sed dulce bibenti.
Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius aequo
laudat venalis qui volt extrudere merces.
Res urget me nulla; meo sum pauper in aere.
Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi; non temere a me
quivis ferret idem. Semel hic cessavit et, ut fit,
in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae':
des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga laedat:
ille ferat pretium poenae securus: opinor,
prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex:
insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua?
dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi
talibus officiis prope mancum, ne mea saevus
iurgares ad te quod epistula nulla rediret.
Quid tum profeci, mecum facientia iura
si tamen attemptas? Quereris super hoc etiam, quod
exspectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax.
Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
aerumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
perdiderat: post hoc vehemens lupus, et sibi et hosti
iratus pariter, ieiunis dentibus acer,
praesidium regale loco deiecit, ut aiunt,
summe munito et multarum divite rerum.
Clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis,
accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummum.
Forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor
nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit eundem



verbis quae timido quoque possent addere mentem:
'i, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto,
grandia laturus meritorum praemia! Quid stas?'
post haec ille catus, quantumvis rusticus: 'ibit,
ibit eo quo vis qui zonam perdidit,' inquit.
Romae nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri
iratus Grais quantum nocuisset Achilles.
Adiecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae,
scilicet ut vellem curvo dinoscere rectum
atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato
civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma
Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni
et laris et fundi paupertas impulit, audax
ut versus facerem: sed quod non desit habentem
quae poterunt umquam satis expurgare cicutae,
ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?
singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes;
eripuere iocos, Venerem, convivia, ludum;
tendunt extorquere poemata: quid faciam vis?
denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque:
carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis,
ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.
Tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur,
poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
Quid dem? Quid non dem? Renuis tu, quod iubet alter;
quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.
Praeter cetera me Romaene poemata censes
scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis

omnibus officiis; cubat hic in colle Quirini,
hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque;
intervalla vides humane commoda. 'Verum
purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.'
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum,
tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris,
hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus:
i nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros!
scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem;
rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra:
tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatum?
Ingenium, sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas
et studiis annos septem dedit insenuitque
libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit
plerumque et risu populum quatit: hic ego rerum
fluctibus in mediis et tempestatibus urbis
verba lyrae motura sonum conectere digner?
Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter
alterius sermone meros audiret honores,
Gracchus ut hic illi foret, huic ut Mucius ille.
Qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poetas?
Carmina compono, hic elegos. Mirabile visu
caelatumque novem Musis opus! Adspice primum,
quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum
spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem:
mox etiam, si forte vacas, sequere et procul audi,
quid ferat et qua re sibi nectat uterque coronam.
Caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem
lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
Discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?



Quis nisi Callimachus? Si plus adposcere visus,
fit Mimnermus et optivo cognomine crescit.
Multa fero, ut placem genus inritabile vatum,
cum scribo et supplex populi suffragia capto:
idem finitis studiis et mente recepta
obturem patulas impune legentibus auris.
Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina; verum
gaudent scribentes et se venerantur et ultro,
si taceas, laudant quicquid scripsere beati.
At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,
cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti;
audebit quaecumque parum splendoris habebunt
et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna ferentur,
verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant
et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestae;
obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis
nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas;
adsciscet nova, quae genitor produxerit usus.
Vemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni
fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua;
luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano
levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet,
ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui
nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.
Praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
dum mea delectent mala me vel denique fallant,
quam sapere et ringi? Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos
in vacuo laetus sessor plausorque theatro;
cetera qui vitae servaret munia recto

more, bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,
comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis
et signo laeso non insanire lagoenae,
posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem.
Hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque refectus
expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco
et redit ad sese: 'pol me occidistis, amici,
non servastis,' ait, 'cui sic extorta voluptas
et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.'
Nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis,
et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum,
ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.
Quocirca mecum loquor haec tacitusque recordor:
si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,
narrares medicis: quod, quanto plura parasti,
tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?
Si volnus tibi monstrata radice vel herba
non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herba
proficiente nihil curarier: audieras, cui
rem di donarent, illi decedere pravam
stultitiam, et cum sis nihilo sapientior, ex quo
plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus isdem?
At si divitiae prudentem reddere possent,
si cupidum timidumque minus te, nempe ruberes,
viveret in terris te siquis avarior uno.
Si proprium est, quod quis libra mercatus et aere est,
quaedam, si credis consultis, mancipat usus;
qui te pascit ager tuus est, et vilicus Orbi,
cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas,
te dominum sentit. Das nummos, accipis uvam,
pullos, ova, cadum temeti: nempe modo isto



paulatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis
aut etiam supra nummorum milibus emptum.
Quid refert, vivas numerato nuper an olim?
Emptor Aricini quondam Veientis et arvi
emptum cenat holus, quamvis aliter putat; emptis
sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat aenum;
sed vocat usque suum, qua populus adsita certis
limitibus vicina refugit iurgia; tamquam
sit proprium quicquam, puncto quod mobilis horae
nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte suprema
permutet dominos et cedat in altera iura.
Sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus et heres
heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam,
quid vici prosunt aut horrea? Quidve Calabris
saltibus adiecti Lucani, si metit Orcus
grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?
Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
argentum, vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas
sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.
Cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungui
praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter
dives et importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu
silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum,
scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus et ater.
Utar et ex modico, quantum res poscet, acervo
tollam, nec metuam quid de me iudicet heres,
quod non plura datis invenerit; et tamen idem
scire volam, quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
discrepet et quantum discordet parcus avaro.
Distat enim, spargas tua prodigus an neque sumptum

invitus facias neque plura parare labores,
ac potius, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim,
exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.
Pauperies immunda domus procul absit, ego utrum
nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem.
Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo:
non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus Austris,
viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re
extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.
Non es avarus: abi. Quid, cetera iam simul isto
cum vitio fugere? Caret tibi pectus inani
ambitione? Caret mortis formidine et ira?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?
Natalis grate numeras? Ignoscis amicis?
Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?
Quid te exempta levat spinis de pluribus una?
Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo
rideat et pulset lasciva decentius aetas.

# DE ARTE POETICA LIBER.

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
iungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?
Credite, Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum
persimilem, cuius, velut aegris somnia, vanae
fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
reddatur formae. 'Pictoribus atque poetis
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.'
Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;
sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni.
Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae
et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros
aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus.
Sed nunc non erat his locus. Et fortasse cupressum
scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractis enatat exspes
navibus, aere dato qui pingitur? Amphora coepit
institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?
Denique sit quidvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum.
Maxima pars vatum, pater et iuvenes patre digni,
decipimur specie recti: brevis esse laboro,

obscurus fio; sectantem levia nervi
deficiunt animique; professus grandia turget;
serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae;
qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum.
In vitium ducit culpae fuga, si caret arte.
Aemilium circa ludum faber imus et unguis
exprimet et mollis imitabitur aere capillos,
infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum
nesciet. Hunc ego me, siquid componere curem,
non magis esse velim, quam naso vivere pravo,
spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.
Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
viribus et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
quid valeant umeri. Cui lecta potenter erit res,
nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.
Ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,
pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat.
In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis
hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.
Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
reddiderit iunctura novum. Si forte necesse est
indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter:
et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta. Quid autem
Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum
Vergilio Varioque? Ego cur, adquirere pauca
si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum



nomina protulerit? Licuit semperque licebit
signatum praesente nota producere nomen.
Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.
Debemur morti nos nostraque: sive receptus
terra Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet,
regis opus, sterilisve palus diu aptaque remis
vicinas urbes alit et grave sentit aratrum,
seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis
doctus iter melius: mortalia facta peribunt,
nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque
quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.
Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus.
Versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum,
post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos;
quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.
Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo:
hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque coturni
alternis aptum sermonibus et popularis
vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.
Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum
et invenum curas et libera vina referre.
Descriptas servare vices operumque colores
cur ego si nequeo ignoroque poeta salutor?
Cur nescire pudens prave quam discere malo?
Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non volt;

indignatur item privatis ac prope socco
dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae.
Singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem.
Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque
proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,
si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querella.
Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunto
et, quocumque volent, animum auditoris agunto.
Ut ridentibus adrident, ita flentibus adflent
humani voltus: si vis me flere, dolendum est
primum ipsi tibi: tunc tua me infortunia laedent,
Telephe vel Peleu; male si mandata loqueris,
aut dormitabo aut ridebo. Tristia maestum
voltum verba decent, iratum plena minarum,
ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu.
Format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
fortunarum habitum; iuvat aut impellit ad iram,
aut ad humum maerore gravi deducit et angit;
post effert animi motus interprete lingua.
Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.
Intererit multum, divusne loquatur an heros,
maturusne senex an adhuc florente iuventa
fervidus, et matrona potens an sedula nutrix,
mercatorne vagus cultorne virentis agelli,
Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.
Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.
Scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer



iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.
Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.
Siquid inexpertum scaenae committis et audes
personam formare novam, servetur ad imum
qualis ab incepto processerit et sibi constet.
Difficile est proprie communia dicere; tuque
rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.
Publica materies privati iuris erit, si
non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum,
unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex.
Nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim:
'fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.'
Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
Quanto rectius hic qui nil molitur inepte:
'dic mihi, Musa, virum, captae post tempora Troiae
qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.'
Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,
Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdim.
Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo;
semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res
non secus ac notas auditorem rapit, et quae
desperat tractata nitescere posse relinquit,
atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.
Tu quid ego et populus mecum desideret audi,

si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque
sessuri, donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat:
aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.
Reddere qui voces iam scit puer et pede certo
signat humum, gestit paribus colludere et iram
colligit ac ponit temere et mutatur in horas.
Imberbis iuvenis, tandem custode remoto,
gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi,
cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,
utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,
sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix.
Conversis studiis aetas animusque virilis
quaerit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,
commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.
Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda, vel quod
quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,
vel quod res omnis timide gelideque ministrat,
dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri,
difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
se puero, castigator censorque minorum.
Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
multa recedentes adimunt. Ne forte seniles
mandentur iuveni partes pueroque viriles,
semper in adiunctis aevoque morabimur aptis.
Aut agitur res in scaenis aut acta refertur.
Segnius inritant animos demissa per aurem
quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae
ipse sibi tradit spectator: non tamen intus
digna geri promes in scaenam, multaque tolles
ex oculis quae mox narret facundia praesens.
Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,



aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.
Neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu
fabula quae posci volt et spectanda reponi.
Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
inciderit; nec quarta loqui persona laboret.
Actoris partis chorus officiumque virile
defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus
quod non proposito conducat et haereat apte.
Ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amice
et regat iratos et amet pacare timentis;
ille dapes laudet mensae brevis, ille salubrem
iustitiam legesque et apertis otia portis;
ille tegat commissa deosque precetur et oret
ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.
Tibia non, ut nunc, orichalco vincta tubaeque
aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco
adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis atque
nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu;
quo sane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,
et frugi castusque verecundusque coibat.
Postquam coepit agros extendere victor et urbes
latior amplecti murus, vinoque diurno
placari Genius festis impune diebus,
accessit numerisque modisque licentia maior.
Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?
Sic priscae motumque et luxuriem addidit arti
tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem;
sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,
et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia praeceps,

utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri
sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.
Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
mox etiam agrestis Satyros nudavit et asper
incolumi gravitate iocum temptavit eo, quod
inlecebris erat et grata novitate morandus
spectator functusque sacris et potus et exlex.
Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicacis
conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,
ne quicumque deus, quicumque adhibebitur heros,
regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,
aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet.
Effutire levis indigna tragoedia versus,
ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus,
intererit Satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.
Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo,
nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax
Pythias emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
an custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.
Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
speret idem, sudet multum frustraque laboret
ausus idem: tantum series iuncturaque pollet,
tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.
Silvis deducti caveant me iudice Fauni,
ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses
aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus umquam,
aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta:
offenduntur enim, quibus est equus et pater et res,
nec, siquid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emptor,



aequis accipiunt animis donantve corona.
Syllaba longa brevi subiecta vocatur iambus,
pes citus; unde etiam trimetris adcrescere iussit
nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
primus ad extremum similis sibi: non ita pridem,
tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad auris,
spondeos stabilis in iura paterna recepit
commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda
cederet aut quarta socialiter. Hic et in Acci
nobilibus trimetris apparet rarus, et Enni
in scaenam missos cum magno pondere versus
aut operae celeris nimium curaque carentis
aut ignoratae premit artis crimine turpi.
Non quivis videt immodulata poemata iudex,
et data Romanis venia est indigna poetis.
Idcircone vager scribamque licenter? An omnis
visuros peccata putem mea, tutus et intra
spem veniae cautus? Vitavi denique culpam,
non laudem merui. Vos exemplaria Graeca
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.
At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
laudavere sales, nimium patienter utrumque,
ne dicam stulte, mirati, si modo ego et vos
scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto
legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
Ignotum tragicae genus invenisse camenae
dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis
quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.
Post hunc personae pallaeque repertor honestae
Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis
et docuit magnumque loqui nitique coturno.
Successit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa

laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim
dignam lege regi: lex est accepta chorusque
turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi.
Nil intemptatum nostri liquere poetae,
nec minimum meruere decus vestigia Graeca
ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta,
vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas.
Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis
quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum
quemque poetarum limae labor et mora. Vos, o
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non
multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque
praesectum deciens non castigavit ad unguem.
Ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte
credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas
Democritus, bona pars non unguis ponere curat,
non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.
Nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poetae,
si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile numquam
tonsori Licino commiserit. O ego laevus,
qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!
Non alius faceret meliora poemata: verum
nil tanti est. Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi;
munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo,
unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poetam,
quid deceat, quid non, quo virtus, quo ferat error.
Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.
Rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae,
verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
Qui didicit patriae quid debeat et quid amicis,
quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes,



quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium, quae
partes in bellum missi ducis, ille profecto
reddere personae scit convenientia cuique.
Respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
doctum imitatorem et vivas hinc ducere voces.
Interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur
quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.
Grais ingenium, Grais dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.
Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
discunt in partis centum diducere. 'Dicat
filius Albini: si de quincunce remota est
uncia, quid superat? Poteras dixisse.' 'Triens.' 'Eu!
Rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit?'
'Semis.' An, haec animos aerugo et cura peculi
cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?
Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae
aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.
Quicquid praecipies, esto brevis, ut cito dicta
percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles:
omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris,
ne quodcumque volet poscat sibi fabula credi,
neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.
Centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis,
celsi praetereunt austera poemata Ramnes:
omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.
Hic meret aera liber Sosiis, hic et mare transit

et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum.
Sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus:
nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem volt manus et mens,
poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum,
nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus.
Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
aut humana parum cavit natura. Quid ergo est?
Ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque,
quamvis est monitus, venia caret, et citharoedus
ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem,
sic mihi, qui multum cessat, fit Choerilus ille,
quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror; et idem
indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;
verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.
Ut pictura poesis: erit quae, si propius stes,
te capiat magis, et quaedam, si longius abstes;
haec amat obscurum; volet haec sub luce videri,
iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen;
haec placuit semel, haec deciens repetita placebit.
O maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce paterna
fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum
tolle memor, certis medium et tolerabile rebus
recte concedi: consultus iuris et actor
causarum mediocris abest virtute diserti
Messallae nec scit quantum Cascellius Aulus,
sed tamen in pretio est: mediocribus esse poetis
non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.
Ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors
et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver
offendunt, poterat duci quia cena sine istis,
sic animis natum inventumque poema iuvandis,



si paulum summo decessit, vergit ad imum.
Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,
indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit,
ne spissae risum tollant impune coronae:
qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere. Quidni?
Liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem
summam nummorum vitioque remotus ab omni.
Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva;
id tibi iudicium est, ea mens. Siquid tamen olim
scripseris, in Maeci descendat iudicis auris
et patris et nostras nonumque prematur in annum,
membranis intus positis: delere licebit
quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.
Silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum
caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones.
Dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor urbis,
saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda
ducere quo vellet. Fuit haec sapientia quondam,
publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,
oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno.
Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
carminibus venit. Post hos insignis Homerus
Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella
versibus exacuit; dictae per carmina sortes,
et vitae monstrata via est, et gratia regum
Pieriis temptata modis, ludusque repertus
et longorum operum finis: ne forte pudori
sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo.
Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte,
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium: alterius sic

altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.
Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
abstinuit Venere et vino; qui Pythia cantat
tibicen, didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.
Nunc satis est dixisse: 'ego mira poemata pango;
occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est
et quod non didici sane nescire fateri.'
Ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
adsentatores iubet ad lucrum ire poeta
dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis.
Si vero est, unctum qui recte ponere possit
et spondere levi pro paupere et eripere artis
litibus implicitum, mirabor, si sciet inter
noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum.
Tu seu donaris seu quid donare voles cui,
nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
laetitiae: clamabit enim 'pulchre! bene! recte!'
Pallescet; super his etiam stillabit amicis
ex oculis rorem, saliet, tundet pede terram.
Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt
et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic
derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.
Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis
et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant
an sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes,
numquam te fallent animi sub volpe latentes.
Quintilio siquid recitares, 'corrige sodes
hoc,' aiebat, 'et hoc.' Melius te posse negares
bis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat
et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
Si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,
nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem,



quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.
Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertis,
culpabit duros, incomptis adlinet atrum
transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
fiet Aristarchus, nec dicet: 'cur ego amicum
offendam in nugis?' Hae nugae seria ducent
in mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.
Ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urget
aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,
vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poetam
qui sapiunt; agitant pueri incautique sequuntur.
hic dum sublimis versus ructatur et errat,
si veluti merulis intentus decidit auceps
in puteum foveamve, licet 'succurrite' longum
clamet 'io cives,' non sit qui tollere curet.
Si curet quis opem ferre et demittere funem,
'qui scis an prudens huc se deiecerit atque
servari nolit?' dicam, Siculique poetae
narrabo interitum. Deus immortalis haberi
dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam
insiluit. Sit ius liceatque perire poetis:
invitum qui servat idem facit occidenti.
Nec semel hoc fecit, nec, si retractus erit, iam
fiet homo et ponet famosae mortis amorem.
Nec satis apparet cur versus factitet; utrum
minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
moverit incestus: certe furit, ac velut ursus,
obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clatros,
indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo,
non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.

# NOTES.

## BOOK I., SATIRE I.

The theme is the general feeling of discontent prevailing among mankind, which expresses itself in envy. Yet no one wishes to exchange lots with another, and each is intently bent on his own pursuits. The common cause of these two, apparently contradictory, facts is to be found in avarice. This it is that makes men delve and toil each in his own sphere, and yet causes them at the same time to cast envious glances at the better lot of another.

Argument: How does it happen, Maecenas, that every one is dissatisfied with his own lot, but praises the fortune of others (1–14)? Yet if Jupiter should offer to change their parts and give to each another's place, they would refuse (15–27). Every one is wrapped up in his own pursuits, striving to acquire a competency, which is said to bring many blessings (28–31). First of all, they claim that, provident as the ant, they are laying up a supply for a rainy day; but to them the day of enjoyment never comes. In spite of fire, sea, and sword, they labor on, heaping up a supply that they cannot consume (31–51). Again, they say that abundance in itself is sweet. For myself, I had rather drink from a fountain than a muddy river (52–60). But the world pays homage to wealth, they continue. Foolish plea, since they mistake their own self-esteem for the honors of the world, and, Tantalus like, are ever coveting things beyond their reach (61–72). After all, money can do little save procure for us bread, wine, and other necessaries of life (73–75), while it brings many dangers and trials. Flames consume and thieves give constant annoy (76–80); no friend is won by gold, and even in sickness the miser's relatives wish him dead (80–90); sometimes, too, a violent death is his por-

tion (90–100). Shun avarice, but be not a spendthrift. There is a golden mean in which alone is safety (101–107). To return to our starting-point: it is avarice that brings to all men discontent. As racers men press each other's heels. Like hungry guests they devote themselves to the good things of life, but are never sated nor willing to leave the table (108–121).

The exact date of this Satire cannot be determined. It is after Horace's acquaintance with Maecenas, and so between 38 and 35 B.C. (see Introduction, p. xi.). It seems to have been placed first in the Book, not simply as a formal dedication to Maecenas, for which the sixth would have suited equally well or better, since it is even more personal in tone, but because of the general nature of its contents.

1. **Qui fit**: The stylistic effect of the question is worthy of note; it is more forcible than would have been *Mirum est, Maecenas*, etc. — **sibi**: rather than *ipsi*, for *ratio dederit* almost equals *ipse elegerit*. — **sortem**: in meaning so far removed from its original conception that it can be selected with deliberate purpose, *ratio*.

2. **ratio**: opposed to *fors;* cf. Cic. ad Att. 14. 13. 3, *sed haec fors viderit, quae talibus in rebus plus quam ratio potest. Fors* is related to *fero*, and is most frequently used with *fero* or *obfero*. — **seu . . . seu**: both conjunctions are the rule, though we sometimes find the first one omitted in Horace; as, Od. 1. 6. 9; 1. 3. 16.

3. **laudet**: the subject is *quisque*, suggested by *nemo;* cf. Cic. de Or. 3. 14. 52, *nemo extulit eum . . . sed contempsit eum;* cf. also Pers. 4. 24. — **diversa**: *opposite*, while *varius* means *slightly different;* thus *sententiae diversae* differs from *sententiae variae*. — **sequentis**: the rule of the old Roman grammarians that all words with gen. pl. in *-ium* have acc. pl. in *-is* suffers many exceptions. The usage of Horace's Mss. is tolerably consistent for *-is* in pure *-i* stems, and for adjectives and participles in *ns*; adjectives and substances in *x* have, with but few exceptions, *es*; other words vary. See Fritsche, Excursus, II., p. 171 ff.; Keller, Epilegomena, p. 5.

There follow for illustration two pairs: (1) soldier and merchant, cf. Od. 2. 14. 13. (2) learned civilian and rustic.



4. **gravis annis**: this expression does not give the ground of the soldier's complaint; that is indicated solely by what follows, *multo jam fractus*, while *gravis annis* is an epithet descriptive of *miles*, and almost equal to *veteranus*. This epithet is appropriate, for a young and fresh soldier would not be so likely to feel the burdens of military life. The expression, in accord with prevailing usage, is to be understood of years of life, not of service. But the soldier who is *gravis annis* is by no means an old man, and can still be laboring to secure a competency in order to enjoy ease in old age; cf. v. 31.

5. **jam fractus**: *at length broken.*

6. **Austris**: in Horace frequently a storm wind; cf. Od. 3. 3. 4; 3. 27. 22; 4. 14. 21; Epod. 10. 4; Ep. 1. 11. 15; 2. 2. 202.

7. **quid enim**: *and why?* In Cicero *quid enim* is used after a general statement to introduce a refutation of some point that might be advanced in opposition. It is therefore always followed by a question; cf. Tusc. Disp. 4. 4. 8, *si ista (aegritudo) perturbare animum sapientis non potest, nulla (perturbatio) poterit. Quid enim? Metusne conturbet?* See Seyffert, Schol. Lat. I., p. 101. The manner in which Horace uses the phrase is conversational, and was still in vogue at the time of Porphyrio, as his comment testifies.

8. **momento horae**: *in one short hour;* cf. Ep. 2. 2. 172, *puncto mobilis horae.*

9. **juris legumque peritus**: not a professional pleader, *patronus, orator, actor causarum* (cf. A. P. 370), but a man of eminence who gave legal advice to his friends. Cf. Ep. 2. 1. 103; Cic. de Or. 1. 45. 200, *est enim sine dubio domus juris consulti totius oraculum civitatis.*

10. **ostia pulsat**: *pultare* is more frequently used in this sense, but not by Horace. When a Roman magistrate entered a house, the lictors preceding him knocked with their fasces (cf. Liv. 6. 34); in ordinary life the feet were often used for that purpose, especially when one was impatient or in haste; cf. Od. 1. 4. 13, *Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede*, etc.; Plaut. Most. 2. 2. 23, *Pultando pedibus paene confregisti hasce ambas (foris).*

11. **ille**: not the *consultor*, but any *rusticus;* it is merely the antecedent of *qui*. — **datis vadibus**: cf. Varro de L. L. 5. 7,

*Vas appellatus qui pro altero vadimonium promittebat;* cf. S. 1. 9. 36.

13. **cetera de genere hoc**: a favorite expression of Lucretius, who was Horace's teacher in the philosophy of Epicurus.

14. **Fabium**: Porphyrio tells us that he was a native of Narbo, of equestrian rank, an adherent of the side of Pompey, and that he wrote a work on the Stoic philosophy.

15. **quo rem deducam**: *the conclusion of the whole matter.* — **en ego**: not to be separated from *faciam;* cf. Sallust Hist. 2. 41. 10, *adsum en C. Cotta consul.* Translate, *lo, I will grant your desire.* — **si quis dicat**: the apodosis is *nolint.*

18. Note the dramatic expressions *partibus* and *hinc.* — **hinc discedite**: referring to the different doors on the stage.

19. **beatis**: A. and G. 272 a; G. 535, n. 2; H. 536, 3; cf. S. 1. 2. 51; 1. 6. 25; 2. 3. 189; Ep. 1. 16. 61; A. P. 372.

20. **merito** qualifies *iratus; illis* may be construed both with *iratus* and *buccas inflet*, for logically it belongs to both; cf. Plaut. Cas. 3. 3. 20, *Nescio quid se sufflavit uxori suae.* The expression *buccas inflare* is a vulgarism; cf. Mart. 3. 17. So Cicero uses in his letters *in buccam venire*, e.g. Att. 1. 12. 4. — **quin** = *qui ne* was originally an interrogative or relative adverb (*why not*): from this it passed over to a consecutive conjunction.

23. **praeterea** marks the transition to a new thought, a Lucretian usage; cf. S. 2. 3. 179.

24. **quamquam**: *and yet.*

25. **olim**: *sometimes, often.* — **blandi**: *coaxing.* The tricks of the Kindergarten were known before the days of Froebel. Similar recommendations are made by Jerome, Ep. 12; cf. Lucret. 1. 936 ff.; Quint. 1. 1. 26. But cakes were not the only mental stimulant known to classic teachers; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 70; Mart. 10. 62. 10, *ferulaeque tristes, sceptra paedagogorum.*

26. **elementa**: *στοιχεῖα, alphabet.* The fanciful derivation from *l, m, n*, like our *a, b, c*, is defended, though not convincingly, by Greenough, Harvard Studies, I., p. 97.

28. The thought introduced by *praeterea* is now taken up and developed. Passing from the general feeling of discontent, avarice is selected as a special topic and the explanation of the fact that men endure so patiently the ills of their various stations. On this basis the labors of the classes before mentioned are explained. The *juris consultus* falls away, for he charges no fee and so could not be moved by avarice, while his place is supplied by the *perfidus caupo;* cf. S. 1. 5. 4, *cauponibus malignis.* Keepers of inns or eating-houses, both in Greece and Rome, were noted for misrepresentation, adulteration of wares, and all kinds of unfair dealing. The Greek term for caupo is *κάπηλος*, from which is derived the verb *καπηλεύω*, which sometimes means *to cheat* or *deceive in trade.*



29. **hic**: opposed to *ille* in the preceding line. — **nautae**: used for *mercator;* cf. v. 6, and Od. 1. 1. 14; 1. 28. 18.

30. **currunt**: cf. Ep. 1. 1. 45, *curris mercator ad Indos per mare;* also, Ep. 1. 11. 27.

31. **senes**: *in their old age.*

33. Note the contrast between *parvola* and *magni laboris;* "that tiny type of giant industry," Con. The genitive of quality is here purely descriptive, not restrictive, and resembles its use with proper names; as, *exactae jam aetatis Capitolinus*, Liv. 4. 41. 12. Stricter Latin idiom would insert *vir* or *homo* in Livy's sentence, and *animal* in Horace's. — **nam exemplo est**: sc. *illis, for she is their model.*

36. **quae**: equals *at ea.* Horace now turns their own illustration against them; cf. *quod*, v. 43. — **Aquarius**: the sign of the zodiac which the sun enters about the middle of January, therefore *contristat.* Porphyrio says, *maxime sole in Aquario constituto tempestates horrendae et frigora ingentia solent esse.* — **inversum annum**: *the closing year*, i.e. turned round to its point of beginning; cf. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14, and the Homeric phrases, *περιπλόμενος, περιτελλόμενος ἐνιαυτός*; also Xen. Hellen. 3. 2. 25, *περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ*; Thuc. 1. 30, *περιόντι τῷ θέρει.*

37. **et illis . . . sapiens**: *but sensibly uses those things which it has gathered before.* See App.

38. **quaesitis**: for *acquisitis;* the participle is not substantive, but belongs to *illis*, which refers definitely to *quodcunque*, v. 34. Participles made substantives cannot have a demonstrative with them as the equivalent of such English expressions as *the ones, the things*, etc. Such turns must be expressed in Latin either by the participle alone, or by using the demonstrative followed

by a relative clause. — **te**: the constant use of the dialogue in Roman Satire is justified by its dramatic origin; cf. S. 1. 4. 6. — **cum**: adversative use.

41. **quid iuvat**: *what good does it do you?* The expected continuation would be "to keep unused what you have provided," but this is changed for the more definite picture of the miser burying his treasure.

43. **assem**: coined money was used at Rome from about the time of the Decemvirs; the oldest coin was the *as*, originally a pound of copper; but it was gradually reduced in the Punic wars, and then a little later by the Lex Papiria, until its weight was only half an ounce and its value less than a cent. So it came to be used proverbially, e.g. *non assis facis;* cf. Ep. 2. 2. 27.

45. The thought is from Lucilius, frag. 483 and 486 Lachm. *Triverit* is perf. subj.; the clause is concessive, but no conjunction (*si, quamvis, licet*) is omitted. We have here simply a survival of co-ordination or parataxis, out of which subordination was developed; cf. S. 1. 3. 15; 1. 10. 64; 2. 6. 48. — **area**: a hard, dry, clay floor was prepared in the open field, exposed to the wind, and the grain was thrashed out by the treading of cattle, by driving a *tribulum* over it, or by beating with the flail. — **milia frumenti**: supply *medimnum*, gen. pl.; Greek μεδίμνων is similarly omitted.

46. **hoc**: *on this account*, as in S. 1. 3. 93.

47. The slave that carries the bread-bag gets no more than any other. Allusion seems to be made to a retinue of slaves (*venalis*) accompanying their master on a journey; cf. S. 1. 6. 109. — **reticulum**: this is mentioned by Juvenal among travelling utensils, Sat. 12. 60; cf. English *reticule*.

50. **viventi**: *refert* takes gen. of person in Sall. Jug. 111. 1; Liv. 34. 27. 6. The dative here may be through analogy to its use after such words as *conducit*, cf. Cic. de Fin. 1. 16. 52, *neque homini infanti injuste facta conducunt*, or it may be a loosely connected dative of reference. — **iugera**: the *iuger* contained 28,800 square feet; the English acre, 43,560.

52. **relinquas**: *allow;* a poetic use of the infinitive.

53. **cur laudes**: *why should you praise?* — **cumeris**: either made of clay or woven out of osiers. — **plus**: *magis* would be more regular. The difference between these two words, used to compare two different degrees of intensity in the action of one verb, is in general as follows: *magis* is used with those verbs that take adverbs of intensity, as *valde, adeo, admodum*, etc.; *plus* with those that take adverbial accusatives, as *multum, tantum*, etc. So *magis* with most verbs, as *vereri, florere, admirari, laudare, placare*, and many others; *plus* with such neuters as *posse, valere, prodesse*, etc.; properly, *plus* indicates quantity and *magis* intensity, though some verbs are construed with either. See Fisher's Lat. Gr. II., p. 755; Kühner, II., p. 971.



54. **liquidi**: equal to *aquae;* cf. *liquor*, Od. 3. 3. 46. "In this love of excess you act as foolishly as if you needed only a pitcher or even a cup of water, and were to say," etc. The *amphora* (26.196 liters) = 2 urnae; urna = 4 congii; congius = 6 sextarii; sextarius (.54 liters) = 12 cyathi.

55. **mallem**: unreal, because he stands in thought already at the fountain; therefore *hoc*.

56. **eo fit**, etc.: "And so it happens that the avaricious man loses his life in that turgid stream of abundance that he seeks."

58. **Aufidus**: now called *Ofanto*, a river of Apulia, the home of Horace's childhood. This river is called *violens*, Od. 3. 30. 10; *longe sonans*, Od. 4. 92. 2; *tauriformis*, Od. 4. 14. 25. See article on "The Native Land of Horace," by Tozer, Class. Rev. II., p. 13.

59. Mark the difference between *eget* and *opus est*, "he only covets as much as his need demands."

61. The final plea of the miser is that a man's worth is measured by his wealth; cf. the English expression, "How much is he worth?" Lucilius says, *quantum habeas, tantum ipse sies, tantique habearis*, 1066 Lachm. — **bona** = *magna;* cf. Od. 4. 2. 46. — **cupidine**: in Horace always masculine; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 34; Od. 2. 16. 15.

63. **illi**: cf. Cic. pro Caec. 11. 30, *quid huic tu homini facias;* the instrumental ablative is more common; A. and G. 244, d; G. 396, r. 1; H. 415, III., n. 1.

64. **quatenus**: *inasmuch as;* cf. S. 1. 3. 76; Od. 3. 24. 30. This causal use of *quatenus*, the only one found in Horace, occurs also in Lucretius and Ovid, but not in Vergil nor in classical prose. — **id facit**: *he is so; facere*, like Greek ποιεῖν and English *do*, may

be used to avoid repeating a word previously used, and may even stand for a neuter verb, as here.

65. **voces**: *judgments;* cf. Od. 2. 2. 19.

68. **Tantalus**: cf. Hom. λ 580 ff.; Lucian, Tim. 18, in similar style compares the miser to Tantalus.

70. **congestis undique**: *gathered together from every side;* i.e. by every means of gain.

71. **inhians**: *gloating over them.* — **et**: *and yet* you dare not touch the sacred pile, and your pleasure is only of the eyes.

73. **quo valeat**: *what's the good of money? quid valeat* would be, *how much it is worth.*

74. All that money can do is to provide for our necessities; beyond that, it brings as many dangers and trials as enjoyments. — **sextarius** = .54 of a liter; see on v. 54.

75. **quis** for *quibus* is not found in the Odes or Epistles, but occurs Epod. 11. 9; S. 1. 3. 96; 1. 4. 72 and 130; 1. 5. 42; 1. 9. 27. — See Introduction, p. xv.

76. **an** belongs to the second part of a disjunctive question. The first part must frequently be evolved from the context, and the *an* clause has often, as here, a tinge of irony.

77. **incendia**: conflagrations at Rome were frequent and very destructive, owing to the narrow streets, high houses, and lack of equipment for fighting the flames. Augustus restricted the height of houses to 70 feet, and Trajan to 60 feet. Two great conflagrations occurred under Tiberius in 27 and 36 A.D., but Nero's fire, 64 A.D., was the most destructive of all, leaving only four out of the fourteen regions of the city unharmed. No insurance lightened the losses, but contributions both public and private were often made. Cf. Juv. 3. 212 f. — **servos**: Festus, p. 261, says, *quot servi, tot hostes, in proverbio est.* Sen. Ep. 47. 5, says, *totidem hostes esse quot servos.*

78. **compilent**: probably most words tend to a lower level in shifting their meaning, but this one has thrown off the imputation, if not the fact, of robbery in the English *compile;* so *caballus* moves upward to *chivalry.*

79. For *pauper* with the gen. cf. Od. 3. 30. 11; S. 2. 3. 142. — **optarim**: see App.

80. Horace suggests other benefits which possibly the miser might suppose to be conferred by wealth, and then refutes the supposition. — **frigore**: *chills;* cf. S. 2. 3. 290; Ep. 1. 11. 13.



81. **adfixit**: see App.

83. **gnatis**: in the Satires we find regularly *gnatus* and *gnata* as substantives, but *natus* as participle; cf. S. 1. 3. 43; 2. 3. 203; 1. 5. 53. In the Odes only *natus* occurs even as a substantive; cf. 2. 18. 28; 3. 5. 42; 4. 4. 55.

86. **post . . . ponas**: tmesis, as S. 1. 3. 92; 1. 6. 58.

87. **merearis**: *try to win.*

88. The connexion of thought is as follows: "Do you think that money brings true friends and kind attention in distress? Not so; these things are won by love, and this price you have not paid. Do you wonder that no one loves you, or would you count it a waste of labor to try to retain the affection of your relatives?" For *an si* see App.

89. **servareque**: in classical Latin *que* is rarely appended to words ending in short *e*. According to Harant, Revue de Phil. IV., pp. 25–29, it is not found in Sallust, Curtius, Pliny the Younger, Cicero's Orations (it does occur in his other works, Class. Rev., II., p. 58), Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, Persius, Juvenal. There is one example in Horace, Terence, and Caesar; see article by Elmer, Am. Journ. Phil., VIII., p. 299 ff.

92. **plus**: sc. *quam antea habebas*, Lambinus.

94. **facias**: cf. use of *facis*, v. 66.

95. **dives** is followed by a subjunctive clause of degree, although not qualified by an adverb; Dahl, die lateinische Partikel Ut, p. 194; cf. S. 1. 7. 13; 2. 7. 10; Ep. 1. 16. 12, and see App.

96. **ut metiretur**: a proverbial sign of wealth; cf. Petron. 37, *Fortunata appellata, quae nummos modio metitur;* also Xen. Hell. 3. 2.

98. **supremum tempus**: sc. *vitae.*

99. **at**: *but,* "contrary to expectation," etc. — **liberta**: freed slaves were called *liberti* in relation to their masters, *libertini* in relation to the state. The *liberta* here was probably a concubine, attesting the truth of v. 84 and 85.

100. **Tyndaridarum**: the *liberta* is a second Clytaemnestra. The children of Tyndarus were Castor and Pollux, Helen and Clytaemnestra.

101. **mi** for *mihi* is used by Horace nine times in the Satires and only once in the Epistles. The miser asks Horace now, whether he would have him be a spendthrift, as Naevius or Nomentanus. — **Naevius**: possibly the same as the one mentioned S. 2. 2. 68. Many editors read *Maenius*, which has but little Ms. authority, though such an one is mentioned S. 1. 3. 21; Ep. 1. 15. 26. — **Nomentanus**: often mentioned by Horace, as S. 1. 8. 11; 2. 1. 22; 2. 3. 175 and 224. Porphyrio says that his name was L. Cassius Nomentanus, and that Sallust the historian hired his cook for 100,000 sesterces a year.

102. **pergis**, etc.: *you never stop pitting against each other things utterly at variance*, i.e. "you rush from one extreme to the other."

105. **Tanain**: Greek accusative. According to Porphyrio he was a eunuch, freedman of Maecenas or of L. Munatius Plancus. Porphyrio adds further, *Viselli socer autem herniosus*. Other than this, nothing is known of either one.

108. **illuc**, etc.: *I return to the point from which I set out; viz. how every one through avarice omits to praise himself*, etc. The use of an indirect question here — *qui nemo*, etc. — is only to be justified on the ground that Horace is quoting his former words, v. 1. Logically we have here a direct statement, while *ut avarus* is explanatory, as, *ut male sanos*, Ep. 1. 19. 3; *ut capitis minor*, Od. 3. 5. 42. The idea contained in *ut avarus* is the new feature added here. In the opening of the Satire the ground of discontent was left unindicated. See App.

110. This verse is imitated by Ovid, A. A. 1. 349; cf. also Ep. 1. 2. 57, *invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis*.

113. **sic** does not correspond to *ut*, but belongs to *festinanti*.

114. The epic tone of these lines is excellent, and closely resembles Vergil, Georg. 1. 512. — **carceribus**: the stalls at the end of the circus from which the chariots started, called *claustra*, Ep. 1. 14. 9.

116. **temnens** = *contemnens*. The charioteer in the second or third place thinks only of those ahead of him, neglecting entirely those whom he may have just passed. — **euntem**: *running*.

117. **inde fit**: formally answering *qui fit* of v. 1. The simile of the banquet is from Lucretius, 3. 938.

120. **Crispini**: *Plotius Crispinus*, a student of the Stoic philosophy, and a garrulous writer, who is sneered at by Horace, S. 1. 3. 139; 1. 4. 14; 2. 7. 45. — **scrinia**: cylindrical cases in which the papyrus rolls were kept; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 113.



## SATIRE IV.

Kirchner entitles his translation of this satire "The Poet's Justification," and this is unquestionably the central idea. Some may have looked upon Horace as a lame imitator of Lucilius, not attaining the dignity of poet; others feared and hated him as full of malice, and thought he had no right to attack the world. Horace finds his apology in the nature and history of satire, and in the innocence of his own spirit, which, in noting the faults of others, seeks first of all to correct his own.

Argument: The old comic poets did not hesitate to brand the dissolute or the criminal; and Lucilius, too, following in their footsteps, had a keen scent for ferreting out social stenches (1–8). Yet with all his virtues Lucilius was faulty, too hasty in composition, careless in style, muddy in expression (9–14). You can keep, if you wish, your gas-bags like Crispinus; thank Heaven, I am not so fluent (14–20). Such poems as his, or those of Fannius, are liked because they are empty; my satires sting because they are true (21–25). Men are guilty of folly in every shape or form; therefore they point their finger at the poet and cry, "Look out for the bull, his horns are sharp" (25–38). But, in the first place, I do not pretend to be one of your sky-scraping rhymers, and it is even a debatable question whether satire or the old comedy is poetry in its true sense (39–65). Further, I am no public informer or executioner. My writings are not for the bookstalls or recitation-halls. Not one of my friends will accuse me of malevolence (65–80). My comments on others are not so criminal as those heard in social life, nor my accusations so offensive as the base insinuations of many pretended friends (80–103). My habit of observing men and things is due to my father, who moulded my youth, and by his warnings kept me from evil (103–131). This same habit of criticism clings to me yet, and is not an instrument of torture to others, but a means of grace to myself (131–143).

There is no certain clue to the date of this satire. No trace of friendship with Maecenas appears, though it may nevertheless have been later than 38 B.C. From v. 92 it would seem to be later than the second, and from its general tone one would infer that Horace was already somewhat widely known as a writer of satires.

1. The old (*prisca*, *ἀρχαία*) comedy extended from about 465 to 400 B.C., and the three poets here mentioned are often cited as its chief representatives; so Velleius, 1. 16. 3; Quint. 10. 1. 65; cf. Pers. 1. 123. Cratinus died about 422 B.C., Eupolis about 411 B.C., and Aristophanes lived from about 450 to 385 B.C.

2. **alii**: as Crates, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, Plato. — **virorum**: incorporation of antecedent in relative clause; cf. S. 1. 10. 16; 2. 2. 59. — **prisca**: we usually divide Attic comedy into old, middle, and new (336–200). Aristotle, Eth. Nic. IV. 14, recognizes the *ἀρχαία* and *καινὴ κωμῳδία*, while the term *μέση* does not occur until after the time of Hadrian; see Christ, Gr. Lit., p. 238.

3. The characteristic of the old comedy here alluded to is the same as that mentioned by Quint. 10. 1. 65, *in insectandis vitiis praecipua*. More striking, in the eyes of the Greeks, was its freedom of attack on public officials (cf. Dionys. Hal. Rhet. 9. 11), and against this practice were directed the earliest legal restrictions, in 440, 428, and 417 B.C. — **describi**: *to be marked out*, for similar meaning, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 154. — **malus ac fur**: separating characteristics which are united in *malos fures*, S. 1. 1. 77.

6. **hinc**: *on these Lucilius is altogether dependent*, i.e. as a pupil on his teacher. It was mainly the element of personal invective that Lucilius took from the old comedy, and which he stamped upon satire so strongly that it always remained its distinguishing feature. Lucilius was born probably in the year 180 B.C. (see on S. 2. 1. 34), and died 103 B.C. He wrote thirty books of satires, of which the first twenty and the thirtieth were in hexameters, the others in iambic, trochaic, and elegiac measure. The extant fragments are about 1100 lines. For a literary estimate of Lucilius, see Sellar, Roman Poets, p. 219.

7. **mutatis pedibus**: iambic trimeter for dactylic hexameter.

8. **emunctae naris**: *of keen perception;* his nose was well wiped, and therefore keen to scent out foibles and follies. The opposite is *naris obesae*, Epod. 12. 3. For the nose as an organ of taste, cf. S. 2. 2. 89; 1. 3. 29. — **durus componere**: *showing harshness in composition*. The construction is a favorite one in Horace. The inf. is epexegetical, a kind of acc. of specification, and seems to have been developed out of the use of participles and participial adjs. with the inf. It was widely extended under Greek influence from Horace's time on. For other examples in Horace, cf. v. 12; Od. 1. 10. 7; 1. 24. 17; 3. 21. 22; 4. 12. 19; *durus*, as well as *blandus* (Od. 1. 12. 11), *ridiculus* (S. 2. 8. 24), *verax* (Carm. Saec. 25) are thus used by Horace alone.



9. **hoc**: *in this*, refers to what follows. — **vitiosus**: *faulty*, æsthetically, not morally.

10. **ut magnum**: *as if it were some great feat.* — **stans pede in uno**: seems to be a proverbial or colloquial expression indicating facility. Its origin may be in the careless resting of one foot when the body is leaning against some object; a similar rural expression with opposite meaning occurs Quint. 12. 9. 18, *in his actionibus omni, ut agricolae dicunt, pede standum est.* The use of *unus* for *alter*, and *in* with abl. instead of abl. alone, are irregularities.

11. **cum flueret lutulentus**: *as he flowed muddily along.* — **tollere**: *remove.*

13. **ut multum**: sc. *scripserit. For as to his writing much, I let that pass. Nil moror* is a colloquial expression derived from the formula used by a presiding officer in dismissing an assembly; see Brix on Plaut. Trin. 297. It is usually construed with an inf. clause; compare a similar variation of construction after *concedo*, *admit*.

14. **Crispinus**: see on S. 1. 1. 120. "Rapid composition deserves no great praise; even Crispinus is ready to give heavy odds against me." — **provocat**: *challenges.* — **minimo**: sc. *pignore;* "staking a pound against a penny"; cf. Catull. 44. 4, *quovis Sabinum pignore esse contendunt.* This was so understood by Acro, who says, *minimo provocare dicuntur ii qui in stipulatione plus ipsi promittunt quam exigunt ab adversario.*

17. **di bene fecerunt**, etc.: *the gods be praised for fashioning me with mind of meagre resources and little courage; que* connects *inopis* and *pusilli;* for other instances of this Hyperbaton, cf. S. 1. 8. 2; 1. 6. 43; 2. 3. 139.

21. **ut mavis**, etc.: "follow your fancy and be a gas-bag." — **beatus Fannius**: "Fannius is happy after sending to market his poems and picture." Fannius was a parasite of Hermogenes Tigellius, as we see from S. 1. 10. 80. His poems were hardly satires, for Horace contrasts his own obscurity with Fannius's popularity, and explains it by the fear people have of satire.

22. **capsis**: hardly differs from *scrinium;* see on S. 1. 1. 120. The slave that accompanied children to school was called *capsarius;* cf. Juv. 10. 117. — **imagine** is usually rendered *bust*, and the passage, as explained by Schol. Cruq., alludes to the sending by some fortune-hunters of the poems and bust of Fannius, who was old and childless, to the public library without his orders (*ultrò*). But there is a grammatical difficulty, for *ultro* can hardly refer to any other person than the subject, and hence the sending must have been done by him, yet *unsolicited*. Where were they sent? Not to the public library, for the earliest one was that founded by Asinius Pollio, 38 B.C., and in this the bust of no living writer, save Varro, was admitted (Plin. H. N. 7. 30. 115). More likely to some private library, or to the bookseller's shop. That this should have been done unbidden, and should have made the author happy, is the mark of *ineptus Fannius*. *Imagine* is better explained, too, as referring to a frontispiece picture of the author. Such a practice was not uncommon among the Romans, as may be seen from Sen. de tranq. an. 9. Martial, 14. 186, speaks of such an edition of Vergil. Varro's great work, Hebdomades, had just been published (39 B.C.), and contained 700 portraits of distinguished characters. — **cum mea**, etc.: *while no one reads*, etc. This adversative use of *cum* lies near the concessive, but is not usually noticed by the school grammars. See G. § 588.

23. **timentis**: a gen. is often used, both in Latin and Greek, in apposition to a possessive pronoun. — **recitare**: see on v. 73.

24. **genus hoc**: satire. — **iuvat**: the ind. in such clauses is usually explained as indicating an independent fact, the subj. a characteristic. Sometimes this holds good, as Ep. 2. 2. 182, but often such a distinction is simply impossible. After *sunt qui* the ind. is the older construction, the subj. a development. The ind. occurs not only in Plautus and Terence, but in Caesar, Sallust, and Cicero. Horace has the ind. about as often as the subj.; cf.



Od. 1. 1. 4; 1. 7. 5; S. 2. 4. 47; the subj. occurs S. 2. 28; 1. 4. 75; Ep. 1. 1. 78; 2. 2. 182: 2. 1. 1 is disputed. Cf. Fischer's Lat. Gr. II., p. 552; Hale's cum Constructions, p. 112. — **utpote**: usually joined to a causal relative, but is used in Horace three times with a simple adj., S. 2. 4. 9; Ep. 2. 3. 206. — **pluris**: *for the most part.*

26. **laborat**: *is troubled with;* in this sense it is construed only with the abl. or with *a* or *ex*. While writing *ob avaritiam*, Horace still had *culpari dignos* in his mind.

28. **capit**: *is caught by.* — **stupet aere**: *has the bronze craze.* Silver was the favorite metal for table service, and afforded room for the indulgence of luxury. Some of Sulla's victims were murdered for their plate. Bronze was used for fashioning not only statues, but chairs, couches, lamps of varied patterns, and all sorts of kitchen utensils. The excavations at Pompeii have unearthed such things without number. See Mommsen-Marquardt, Handbuch, VII., p. 695 and 709.

30. **tepet**: *is moderately warmed*, transferring the coolness of evening to the western regions; cf. Ep. 1. 20. 19, *cum tibi sol tepidus plures admoverit aures.* — **quin**: *yea verily.*

32. **ut ampliet rem**: may depend either on *fertur* or *metuens;* the latter seems preferable. For the idea, cf. S. 1. 1. 38.

34. When vicious oxen were driven through the streets, a wisp of hay was bound round their horns.

35. **sibi**: *for his own amusement.*

37. **furno**: *public bakery.* — **lacu**: *a water-tank.* Agrippa is said to have constructed 700 of them in Rome, Plin. H. N. 36. 15.

39. **primum**: followed up by *nunc illud quaeram*, v. 64. The answer starts out from *odere poetas*, v. 33, showing that satire is hardly poetry at all; from v. 64 he begins his real defence. See App.

40. **excerpam**: subjunctive. — **concludere versum** = *verba pedibus claudendo versum efficere*, while prose is *oratio soluta.*

42. **sermoni**: "the conversational tone of daily speech." Cf. Rhet. ad Herenn. 3. 13. 23, *sermo est oratio remissa et finitima cottidianae locutioni;* A. P. 95, *sermo pedester;* S. 2. 6. 17, *musa pedestri;* Ep. 2. 1. 250, *sermones repentis per humum.*

43. The three requisites for the poet are inventive talent, inspiration, and an elevated style.

44. **sonaturum**: for similar form, cf. *intonata*, Epod. 2. 31.

46. **acer spiritus ac vis**: *fire and force; spiritus ardens et vehemens*, Bond.

48. **sermo merus**: in apposition to *comoedia* and the apodosis of *nisi . . . sermoni*. — **at**: the answer of the defender of comedy in almost the same words that Horace uses in A. P. 93.

51. **ambulet**: sc. *in publico;* accompanied by slaves bearing torches, on some frolic (vid. Lex. s. v. *commissatio*) or serenading expedition.

52. **Pomponius**: otherwise unknown, as are so many of Horace's stock characters.

54. **puris**: i.e. *sine ornamentis*, or, as Acro puts it, *sine figuris et magno sono*.

56. **personatus**: *in the play;* literally, *masked*.

58. **tempora**, etc.: *fixed rhythm and measure*.

60. **solvas**: *dissect*. — **postquam . . . refregit**: *after hideous Discord burst again the iron bolts and bars of war;* quoted from the Annals of Ennius, and imitated by Verg. Aen. 7. 622, *belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postes*. The allusion is to the opening of the temple of Janus.

64. "You have no need to fear me, for even if you are a robber, I am no eager prosecutor; my words go not forth to the public." Porphyrio says that Sulcius and Caprius were *delatores*, but this term belongs to the time of Tiberius and later, when the court circles were full of professional slanderers and tale-bearers; they were more likely zealous prosecutors, hoarse with pleading and upholding their contumacious charges. Though such men were often public benefactors, there clung to them not unnaturally the odium of the public. Cf. Cic. de Off. 2. 14. 50, *vix hominis videtur periculum capitis inferre multis*.

66. **male rauci**: see Introduction, p. xix. — **libellis**: *indictments*.

69. **ut**: *although*.

71. **taberna**: *bookstore;* the book trade was already developing into considerable proportions at Rome. Horace alludes, Ep. 1. 20. 2, to the firm of the Sosii. The dealers (called *librarii*, later *bibliopolae*) kept slaves who did the copying, and books were sold at very reasonable prices. Book-shops were often situated in some *porticus*, on the columns of which (*pilae*, cf. A. P. 372) lists of the books for sale were written; cf. Martial, 1. 117.



72. Hermogenes Tigellius is often mentioned as a famous musician, but a decided enemy of Horace; cf. S. 1. 3. 129; 1. 9. 25; 1. 10. 80 and 90.

73. One of the most striking features of literary life at Rome was the custom of public recitations. Among the Greeks Herodotus was said to have read his histories in public, and somewhat similar stories are told of the epic poet Antimachus and others; cf. Cic. Brut. 191. At Rome Asinius Pollio (cf. S. 1. 10. 42) was the first who recited his own writings publicly, in 39 B.C. Such recitations, sometimes in private, but usually in public, became very common, being practised by Vergil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid, Silius Italicus, Statius, Martial, Juvenal, — indeed by all the poets of the time. The proper object was to secure the criticism of friends, and to gain for any composition an introduction to the literary world. The excesses alluded to here grew much worse by the time of Juvenal. The general custom survives at the present day. For full discussion of this topic, see Mayor, Juv. I., p. 173–182.

77. **sensu**: sc. *communi*, as S. 1. 3. 66; *sense of propriety*.

78. **alieno**: *unsuitable*.

79. **inquit**: *says one*. See App. — **hoc**: accusative. — **studio** = *consulto, intentionally*, as Cic. Rosc. Am. 32. 91, *non studio accuso, sed officio defendo*. — **unde**, etc.: *whence have you this stone that you hurl at me?*

81. **absentem** is usually taken with *amicum*, but Kiessling properly places the comma after *rodit*. Five times we have relative clauses in this sentence, and in all the other four *qui* has one or two words preceding it. In answer to the reproach *rodere absentem*, Horace alludes to the social recognition of those who throw mud even on present guests (86–91); besides, not defending one's friend is not to be compared with the habit of some who stab their friends while ostensibly defending them (94–100).

82. **defendit**: the final syllable is lengthened under the accent, as *figit*, Od. 3. 24. 5; *perrupit*, Od. 1. 3. 36; *agit*, S. 2. 31. 260; in the subjunctive forms, imperfect indicative and in the present indicative of verbs of the vowel conjugations, the long vowel is

original; thus, *arat*, Od. 3. 16. 26; *ridet*, Od. 2. 6. 13; *velit*, S. 2. 3. 187. Similarly the nom. pl. neut. of the 2d declension was originally long. See Stolz, Lat. Gr., § 81, b, and 95, anm.

83. **solutos qui . . . dicacis**: *who tries to excite the world's unbounded laughter and covets the fame of a wit.*

84. **commissa tacere nequit**: a serious fault; cf. S. 1. 3. 95; Ep. 1. 18. 70; Od. 1. 18. 16.

85. **niger** is the color of death, and deadly poison, and so is used of character; cf. the opposite expression, *animae candidae*, S. 1. 5. 41. The solemn form of this line is that of the law or an oracle.

86. For the arrangement of the triclinium, see on S. 2. 8. 20; the usual number of participants was nine.

87. **amet** with the inf. after the analogy of other verbs of desire; cf. Od. 1. 2. 50; 2. 3. 10; 3. 9. 24; 3. 16. 9; Epod. 8. 16; S. 1. 10. 60; 2. 3. 20; 2. 5. 96; Ep. 1. 14. 9; A. P. 197, and cf. further the Greek use of φιλεῖν. The beginning of this construction is found in Sall. Jug. 34. 1; after Horace it is rare; cf. Quint. 9. 3. 17. See App. — **quavis**: sc. *ratione;* Catullus often uses *qualubet* in the same way; cf. 40. 6; 76. 14.

88. **qui praebet aquam**: the host, called *convivator*, S. 2. 8. 73. From Plaut. Pers. 5. 2. 14, *ferte aquam pedibus*, it appears that water was sometimes handed round for washing the feet. Among the Greeks it was customary to offer water for bathing the hands, ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός, as the comic poets called it. This custom was also in vogue among the Romans, and is alluded to, Petron. 31.

89. **condita . . . praecordia**: *the secret depths of the heart.* The sentiment is a favorite one among the Greeks and Romans; cf. the proverb, *in vino veritas*, and οἶνος καὶ παῖδες ἀληθεῖς.

92. Repeated from S. 1. 2. 27. Extremes meet; foppishness and filthiness are equally objects of the satirist's attack. — **pastillos**: these were used for perfuming the breath; cf. Mart. 1. 87.

94. **de . . . furtis . . . Petilli**: that this was a famous process appears from our passage, and from S. 1. 10. 26. The story of the scholiast to the effect that Petillius derived his cognomen Capitolinus from his theft of gold from the statue of Jupiter on the capitol, probably arose from a misunderstanding of Plaut. Trin. 1. 2. 40, and Men. 5. 5. 38, where the stealing of Jupiter's crown is used proverbially for any daring theft. The cognomen Capitolinus was a perfectly honorable one in the gens Petillia, and needed no such explanation.



96. **convictore**: a standing *conviva*, as was Horace to Maecenas. Elision at the end of a hexameter is found in Horace only here and in S. 1. 6. 102, but is frequent in Vergil; cf., too, Od. 4. 2. 22.

100. **lolliginis**: the cuttle-fish, that hid itself from its pursuer by emitting a dark fluid; Plin. H. N. 9. 29. 84.

101. **aerugo**: *copper rust;* for its figurative use, cf. Mart. 10. 33. 5, *viridi tinctos aerugine versus.*

102. **prius**: *first of all.* — **ut siquid . . . promitto**: a union of two constructions, *ut aliquid promittere possum* and *si quid promittere aliud possum.*

105. **dabis**: with imperative force, as S. 1. 1. 16. — **insuevit me hoc**: *schooled me in this;* two acc., as with verbs of teaching; *hoc* is best taken as referring to *liberius dicere*, then *ut fugerem* is a final clause depending on *notando.*

108. **mi**: for the form, see on S. 1. 1. 101.

109. **Albi**: probably the one mentioned v. 28. To have a fool for a father is an impoverishing inheritance. — **male vivat**: *lives wretchedly.*

110. **Baius**: an unknown person, about whom even the scholiasts are silent. — **magnum documentum**: *a striking lesson;* stands in apposition to the preceding sentence, and, like a verb of admonishing, is followed by a final clause.

115. **sapiens**: *the philosopher*, whose lectures on ethics young Horace was to attend later. In place of such systematic instruction Horace's father was content to train up his son in the good old ways, *traditum ab antiquis morem.* Professor Shorey reminds me of Livy's conception of the moral value of history as shown in his Preface. — **petitu**: speaking of this construction, Draeger says (II. 868), "Among the poets Lucretius has four abl. supines, Vergil five, Horace six, Tibullus one, Propertius one, Ovid six, Juvenal three. Horace is the only one who thus uses *petitu* and *vitatu.*"

118. **custodis**: i.e. *paedagogi vel magistri;* cf. S. 1. 6. 81.

121. **formabat**: *fashioned, moulded*, as the artist the clay; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 128; 2. 2. 8; A. P. 163; also the Greek use of πλάττειν. The apodosis to *iubebat* is *aiebat*, which is to be supplied in v. 122; *unum . . . obiciebat* is loosely connected with the preceding; in translating, render *obiciebat* by a participle, *suggesting, citing*; cf. Ep. 1. 2. 18.

123. **iudicibus selectis**: the jury-lists, *album iudicum*, were made up at this time from the senators, *equites*, and *tribuni aerarii*, and the praetor chose or was supposed to choose men of high standing; cf. Cic. pro Cluent. 43. 121, *praetores urbani . . . iurati debent optimum quemque in lectos iudices referre.*

124. **an hoc**, etc.: construe as follows: *an addubites, hoc inhonestum et inutile sit factu, necne.*

125. **flagret rumore**: an evil report is a consuming fire.

126. **avidos**: *gluttons*; cf. S. 1. 5. 75; 1. 6. 127; Od. 3. 23. 4.

128. **aliena opprobria**: *censure applied to others.*

129. **ex hoc**: sc. *more patris.* — **sanus**: construed with *ab* because of the idea of separation involved in it. Plautus has even *aeger ab animo*, Epid. 1. 2. 26, and Gellius uses *valere ab oculis*, 13. 30.

130. **mediocribus**: alluded to S. 1. 3. 20 and 140; 1. 6. 65.

132. **liber amicus**: *candid, outspoken friend*; cf. Epod. 11. 25, *amicorum libera consilia.*

133. **Consilium proprium**: "*my own reflections*," Palmer. — **neque enim**: explanatory of *consilium proprium.* — **lectulus** may be either a bed (*lectus cubicularius*) or couch for reading and studying (*lectus lucubratorius*). In either case Horace spends his time in reflection, working out ethical rules for the government of his own life, just as, while promenading in the public colonnades, he draws lessons from the conduct of those about him.

134. **desum mihi**: *neglect myself*, "fail to try to correct my faults by care and meditation"; cf. S. 1. 9. 56; 2. 1. 17.

136. **hoc quidam non belle**: sc. *fecit.* — **illi**: refers to *quidam.*

138. **compressis labris**: *in silence.*

139. **inludo chartis**: *I fool away my paper*, i.e. by scribbling verses. This use of *inludo* is common in later writers (cf. Tac. Hist. 2. 94, *inludere pecuniae*), and has a close parallel in Verg. Georg. 2. 373–375, *cui (frondi) silvestres uri assidue capreaeque sequaces includunt.* Harper's Lex. takes *chartis* as abl., and renders, "I amuse myself with writing," a construction not so well established as the one first given, which receives additional weight from the comment of Schol. Cruq., *has cogitationes meas scribendo chartas perdo.*



141. **veniat**: see App.

143. **Iudaei**: Jews were at this time spread all over the world, and there were multitudes of them at Rome. Their proselyting spirit was proverbial; cf. Matt. 23. 15, περιάγετε τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἕνα προσήλυτον. Cicero alludes to them in the following words, pro Flacc. 28. 66: *scis quanta sit manus, quanta concordia, quantum valeant in contionibus.* Their superstition is alluded to, S. 1. 5. 100. Cf. Juv. 14. 96 f., and Mayor's note; also Friedlaender, III., pp. 506–517.

## SATIRE V.

Porphyrio tells us that Horace in this satire imitated Lucilius, who, in the third Book, described a journey he made from Rome to Capua, and thence to the Sicilian straits. Of this description only fragments remain. Horace's trip is made from Rome to Brundisium in company with Maecenas, Cocceius, Fonteius Capito, Vergil, Tucca, Varius, and the rhetor Heliodorus. The tone of this satire is light, but we must not forget that Horace is on a pleasure trip, a holiday. He simply sketches with rapid outline their course, and dwells mainly on the inconveniences met with and the comic incidents that occurred. The question as to the date of this journey is one of considerable importance and difficulty, and can only be settled by referring to the history of the years 40–37 B.C. In the autumn of the year 40 B.C. was concluded the treaty of Brundisium between Octavianus and Antony, through the mediation of Maecenas as the representative of Octavianus, Asinius Pollio as that of Antony, and Cocceius as referee. This is the occasion alluded to in v. 29. In the summer of 39 B.C. the treaty of Misenum was concluded with Sextus Pompeius, who had control of the sea, and who had caused great scarcity of corn at Rome. This agreement was soon broken, however, and Octavia-

nus, preparing to meet Pompey, summoned his colleagues Antony and Lepidus to a conference. Lepidus never came, and Antony, though he came to Brundisium in the spring of 38 B.C., returned immediately, without waiting for the conference. Wesseling assumes this date as the occasion of Maecenas's embassy, but there is no proof that there was any such embassy at that time, and indeed it is quite unlikely. During the summer things went worse for Octavianus, and he was anxious to secure the co-operation of Antony. For this purpose he sends Maecenas to him at Athens in the autumn, and wins the promise of his assistance. This was most likely the trip whose beginning Horace here describes, as Schütz has so clearly pointed out. It is the only occasion where it is distinctly stated that Maecenas negotiated between the two princes (Appian 5. 92), except at the treaty of Brundisium. All the internal evidence suits the autumn; the frogs and mosquitoes, the cool evenings, and wood with foliage still clinging, the parching Atabulus. Another date approved by many is that suggested and strenuously defended by Kirchner; viz. the treaty of Tarentum, 37 B.C. With the spring of that year Antony came to Brundisium, but Octavianus, who had now succeeded in making his naval equipment stronger, and seemed able to cope with Pompey without assistance, held himself aloof. Antony then proceeded to Tarentum, and finally, through the influence of Octavia, an interview was arranged between the two leaders which resulted in a renewal of the triumvirate. There is no statement, however, that ambassadors were sent by Octavianus on this occasion.

The argument of this satire is given in the notes. The geography of the journey has been carefully investigated by Romanelli, Walckenaer (Histoire de la vie d'Horace, T. I., p. 232 ff.), and especially by Desjardins (Revue de Phil., II.; 1878, p. 144 f.). According to the latter authority the whole journey occupied thirteen days, in which calculation it is assumed that the travellers did not spend the night either at Capua or Beneventum. Gibbon reduces the time to twelve days, not allowing a night spent at Anxur. It is better, however, to assume that the party stopped at each of these places, and that the journey occupied fifteen days according to the following itinerary:



| Day. | Place. | Distance in Roman Miles. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Aricia | 16 |
| 2 | Forum Appii | 27 |
| 3 | (iter nocturnum per fossam) | 16 |
| | Tarracina | 3 } 19 |
| 4 | Fundi | 13 |
| | Formiae | 13 } 26 |
| 5 | Sinuessa | 18 |
| | Villula proxima ponti Campano | 9 } 27 |
| 6 | Capua | 17 |
| 7 | Villa Coccei | 21 |
| 8 | Beneventum | 11 |
| 9 | Villa vicina Trivici | 24? |
| 10 | Oppidulum ignotum | 24? |
| 11 | Canusium | 35? |
| 12 | Rubi | 24 |
| 13 | Barium | 23 |
| 14 | Gnatia | 37 |
| 15 | Brundisium | 39 |

1. Horace plunges at once *in medias res*, passing over all preliminary details, such as arrangements for the journey, etc. He passed from the city through the *porta Capena*, under the Coelian hill, and proceeded along the Appian Way. This, the greatest of all the roads leading southward, was built by Appius Claudius Caecus (Censor, 312 B.C.), and is called by Statius Silv. 2. 2. 12, *regina viarum*. It led to Capua, but was afterwards extended, though it is not known when or by whom, to Beneventum, Tarentum, and Brundisium; cf. Becker's Gallus, I., pp. 77–81. — **magna**: contrasting Rome with Aricia's *hospitium modicum;* cf. Carm. Saec. 11. No information is given by the ancients as to the number of inhabitants at Rome, so we are left to conjecture. Marquardt, V., p. 124, reckons 1,610,000. — **accepit**: see App. Aricia was a town of Latium about 16 miles (Roman) from Rome, at the foot of the Alban Mount, near the Lacus Nemorensis, on the borders of which was the celebrated grove and temple of Diana. Her priest was always a runaway slave (*rex nemorensis*), who obtained his office by fighting and slaying his predecessor.

2. **hospitio**: *an inn, caupona;* cf. Sat. 1. 1. 29, n. Visitors at Rome usually found lodging with friends or acquaintances, and so we seldom hear of inns there. They were probably used only by the lower classes. Throughout Italy, however, they were doubtless common enough. On this trip Horace stopped at one here, and also for refreshments, at any rate, at Forum Appii and the grove of Feronia; after he was joined by Maecenas, the party received, for the most part, official or friendly entertainment; but see v. 71.

3. On the second day the journey is continued to **Forum Appii**, a small town on the edge of the Pontine marshes named after the builder of the Appian Way. The use of the word *forum* as a part of so many names of towns shows their origin as market-places and seats of justice; Pauly's Realencyclopädie gives a list of 45 such towns. From this point a canal had been cut through the marshes for some 16 miles, to the grove of Feronia (v. 24), which was within three miles of Tarracina. This fact explains *differtum nautis*. The trip on the canal was usually made by night; Strabo 5. 23.

4. **cauponibus . . . malignis**: *niggardly inn-keepers.* See on S. 1. 1. 29.

5. **ac**: this use of *ac* (*atque*) for *quam* is a favorite construction of Horace, occurring nine times in the Satires and twice in the Epodes. The only example in classical prose is Cic. ad Att. 5. 11. 2, but the reading is doubtful.

6. **altius praecinctis**: having the tunic girded up so as not to hinder the movements of the legs, *εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί*. It does not mean that Horace was on foot, but is used in a general way for "better travellers." In what manner this journey was performed we are not told. In v. 47 pack mules are mentioned, and in v. 86 *redae;* possibly at other places they may have also used litters (*lecticae*) borne by slaves (*lecticarii*).

7. **ventri indico bellum**: if he could not drink, Horace preferred not to eat. Greenough, with refreshing candor, attributes Horace's abstinence to another cause.

9. **comites**: Heliodorus and the other passengers bound for Tarracina. The epic tone of the following words heightens by contrast the description of the night voyage.

10. **signa**: here = *astra*, though it properly means a constellation; cf. Od. 2. 8. 10.



11. **pueri**: *slaves*, attendants of the travellers.

12. We have here successive exclamations of the slaves and boatmen. — **huc appelle**: sc. *lintrem.* — **trecentos**: an indefinitely large number was usually expressed by *sescenti* (Cic. Sest. 19); somewhat rarer and confined, it would seem, to the poets was *trecenti;* rarer still, *ducenti* and *quingenti;* Schmalz, Lat. Stilistik, § 30. Horace uses *ducenti*, S. 1. 4. 9.

13. **aes**: *the fare, naulum.* — **ligatur** = *alligatur navigio.*

15. **ut**: *whilst;* this clause has often been joined to the following sentence, but certainly belongs to the preceding, as was seen by Bentley, and more fully defended by Oehlschlaeger; see Keller, Epilegomena, ad locum. Apitzius takes *ut* as equal to *postquam*, with historical present; i.e. "after the singers had tried their hands on us, the frogs commence." Some Mss. omit *ut*, which leaves a simple case of asyndeton, a construction quite characteristic of Horace.

16. **prolutus**, *soaked;* cf. S. 2. 4. 27; Pers. Prol. 1. — **nauta**: in v. 11 we had the plur., which probably included some assistants who rendered service before starting. There was only one boatman, who directed the mule from the boat until the passengers fell asleep, whereupon he nimbly leaps ashore, tethers his mule so that he can graze, and lays himself down to rest. — **viatore**: here used collectively for the whole body of passengers, for it was their falling asleep that made possible the stopping of the boat. This was the way Porphyrio understood it, for he says, *posteaquam obdormierint viatores*, etc.

18. **retinacula**: *tow-rope.*

19. **Saxo**: abl.; cf. Od. 1. 32. 7, *religarat udo litore navim.*

21. **cerebrosus**: *heady.*

23. **dolat**: used of hewing timber, here *belabor.* — **hora**: about ten o'clock. The Roman hour was one-twelfth of the time from sunrise to sunset, and varied in length with the season of the year, being equal to 45 minutes in December and 75 in June. The boat voyage had lasted 14 to 16 hours, and covered a distance of 16 miles.

24. **Feronia**: an ancient Italian goddess, afterwards identified with Juno, and called in inscriptions Juno Feronia, spouse of Jupiter Anxur. Her temple, grove, and fountain were three miles from Tarracina.

25. **repimus**: *we crawl along;* the way led up hill, and they were in no hurry, for Maecenas was expected later.

26. **Anxur**: this was the name of the old Volscian city, situated on a mountain white with limestone cliffs. It was captured by the Romans 405 B.C., and made a Roman colony 327 B.C., with the name *Tarracina*.

27. Maecenas and his companions came probably direct from Octavianus, who may have been at some country-seat near by, though hardly at Lanuvium, as Kiessling suggests, for then they should have met at Aricia or Tres Tabernae.

28. **Cocceius**: L. Cocceius Nerva, *consul suffectus* in 39 B.C., who had already been of service to Octavianus in arranging the treaty of Brundisium, 40 B.C. It was not this Cocceius, but another, possibly his brother, M. Cocceius Nerva, consul 36 B.C., who was the great-grandfather of the emperor Nerva.

29. **aversos . . . amicos**: diplomatic euphemism. Allusion is here made to the treaty of Brundisium, 40 B.C.

32. C. Fonteius Capito, of plebeian but honored family, was *legatus* of Antony in Syria, and after the treaty of Tarentum, 37 B.C., was sent by him to Egypt to escort Cleopatra to the east, a mission well in keeping with his character as here depicted. — **ad unguem factus**: *a polished gentleman.* Taken from workers in marble, who test the finish and the perfect joining of the different pieces by passing the nail over it. Cf. A. P. 294, *castigavit ad unguem*, and the Greek ἐξονυχίζειν. [So Tennyson in Edwin Morris: "I call'd him Crichton, for he seemed All-perfect, finished to the finger nail." Prof. Shorey.]

33. **non ut**, etc.: i.e. *ut non alter magis amicus sit*, Orelli. Cf. Nep. Epam. 2, *eruditus autem sic ut nemo Thebanus magis.*

34. On the fourth day the journey is continued to Fundi, about 13 miles distant from Anxur, and then about the same distance to Formiae. Fundi was an ancient town of Latium that received from the Romans in 338 B.C., in return for services, the *civitas sine suffragio*, a limited citizenship, Liv. 8. 14. 10. In 188 B.C. (Liv. 38. 36) they received the full Roman citizenship, and were enrolled in the Aemilian tribe. Their municipal administration was now in their own hands, and like that of other such cities, was modelled after that of Rome (Mommsen, Handbuch, IV., p. 132 ff.). The chief magistrate in such towns was sometimes a *dictator*, as in Aricia or Tusculum; often there were two, called *praetores*, as in Lavinium and Praeneste (cf. Liv. 23. 19); but the most common title was *duoviri*, or in full, *Iviri iure dicundo*. Besides the praetors or *duoviri* there were also two *aediles*, answering somewhat in their functions to the curule aediles at Rome. For Fundi and Formiae, however, there is convincing evidence from inscriptions (cf. Mommsen, Handbuch, I., p. 423, anm. 4; IV., p. 151, anm. 3) that an exceptional state of affairs existed, in that there were no praetors or *duoviri*, but the chief magistrates were *aediles*, and three in number. Under these circumstances we must suppose that Aufidius had assumed the title of praetor, just as Cic. de Leg. Agr. 2. 34. 93 tells us was done by the magistrates of Capua who were really *duoviri*.



35. **insani**: *silly.* — **praemia** = *insignia;* these are enumerated in the next line; for quantity of final syllable, see on S. 1. 10. 72. — **scribae** were clerks or secretaries attached to the more important Roman magistracies. On his return to Rome after Philippi, Horace was himself *scriba* in the quaestor's office. It was not a position that was degrading, but they were *mercenarii*, and if one of them attained distinction in after life, his friends hardly forgot to remind him of his earlier employment. It is more pardonable to mention it here because of the pomposity of Aufidius. Suet. Vesp. 3 says that Vespasian's father-in-law was *nec quicquam amplius quam quaestorius scriba.* Cf. Mommsen, I., p. 354.

36. The toga praetexta was worn at Rome by the higher religious officers and the chief civil magistrates, as Consul, Dictator, Praetor, and Curule Aedile. It was the simple gray toga with a purple border. The *clavus* was a purple stripe extending down the front of the tunic; as worn by senators it was called the *latus clavus*, and by the equites the *angustus clavus;* the latter was narrower, and consisted of two stripes. Marquardt, Handbuch, VII., p. 547, thinks both forms had two stripes, and extended down the back as well as the front. The chief magistrates of these municipal governments had the *praetexta*, lictors, curule-chair, and were allowed to have their pathway lighted by slaves bearing torches, which was, in some uncertain way, a symbol of authority at Rome, in spite of the fact that ordinary citizens some-

times used the same privilege. It is not stated that they could wear the laticlave, but inasmuch as the praetexta and laticlave became inseparable at Rome, since all magistrates who wore the praetexta were at the same time members of the senate, it may have been added to the regalia of the magistrates in the municipal towns, or, like the title of praetor, may have been in this case improperly assumed. The *prunae vatillum* has been much discussed. It seems to mean a shovel or pan of coals, carried, as Schol. Cruq. suggests, with a view of offering incense for the safe arrival of the guests.

37. **Mamurrarum . . . urbe**: Formiae, about 13 miles from Fundi, the native town of that knight Mamurra who was Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* in Gaul, and who there acquired enormous wealth. Catullus calls him (43. 4) *decoctor Formianus, Formian bankrupt*. He seems to have had a wide though unsavory reputation, and so Horace indicates the town by a reference to its distinguished citizen. The coast near Formiae (cf. Mart. 10. 30) was a favorite place for villas; and so we read of a Formianum of Laelius, Rutilus, Pompeius, and Cicero. — **manemus**: *we stop*.

38. **Murena**: L. Licinius Terentius Varro Murena, a son of L. Licinius Murena, and adopted by Terentius Varro, whose daughter Terentia was married to Maecenas, B.C. 32. He was put to death for taking part in the conspiracy of Fannius Caepio against Augustus in 22 B.C. To him is addressed Ode 2. 10. Capito was one of the party, and seems to have had a house there. On the fifth day they proceed through Minturnae to Sinuessa, the last town of Latium, where they are met by Plotius, Varius, and Vergil. This trio is again mentioned S. 1. 10. 8. M. Plotius Tucca and L. Varius were the two friends who edited the Aeneid after Vergil's death. Varius is often mentioned by Horace (cf. Od. 1. 6; S. 1. 6. 55); he was an epic and tragic poet of note. Of his Thyestes, Quintilian says, *cuilibet Graecorum comparari potest*.

41. **qualis candidiores**: *souls the like of which this earth has never borne more spotless*. The form of expression is a union of two constructions, *qualis candidissimos* and *quibus candidiores*. Cf. the same construction, Epod. 5. 59.

42. **quis**: dat. — **me**: abl. — **devinctior**: Varius and Vergil had presented Horace to Maecenas.



45. The *pons Campanus* was a bridge over the Savo, about nine miles beyond Sinuessa. Desjardins puts the *pons* three miles from Sinuessa, and the *villula* some six miles beyond the bridge.

46. **parochi**: purveyors or commissaries, whose duties were to provide entertainment for public officials. The articles provided by them were limited, according to a law passed in Caesar's consulship, 59 B.C., to the simplest necessities, for which *ligna salemque* would seem to be proverbial. On the sixth day they continue their journey to Capua, 17 miles distant, arriving there in good time (*tempore*). This, the principal city of Campania, had had a checkered history; see Class. Dict. Cicero, Philipp. 12. 3. 7, calls it another Rome. Modern Capua is three miles nearer Rome than the old city, being on the site of the ancient Casilinum.

48. **lusum**: sc. *pila*. The game of ball was very popular among the Romans, nor was it confined to boys. Galen wrote a treatise on the subject from a medical standpoint, and it was a favorite sport of Caesar and Augustus. There were several different kinds of balls, as *pila paganica*, *harpastum*, *follis*, and *trigon*, and the manner of playing varied with each. See on S. 1. 6. 126.

49. **lippis** refers to Horace, **crudis** to Vergil. — **inimicum** = *noxium, injurious*. From the zest with which they enter upon their recreations, we conclude that they spent the night at Capua. Desjardins makes them go on that same afternoon to the next station.

50. The seventh day brings the party to Caudium, 21 miles from Capua. It was in the Caudine Forks (*Furculae Caudinae*) that the Romans were so cunningly surprised and captured by the Samnites, 321 B.C. Instead of turning to one of the city inns, they climb the hill to the elegant villa of Coccceius, where their dinner is seasoned by a sportive contest of two scurrae.

50–70. The episode here introduced is of mock-heroic character, and, like the stories of special encounters in Homer, begins with an invocation to the muse. Roman dinners were often enlivened by recitations, songs, exhibitions of dancers, rope-walkers, mimes, and contests of clowns, as here; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 9; S. 1. 2. 1; Becker, Gall. 3. 374.

52. **Sarmenti**: The scholiast on Juv. 5. 3 gives considerable information about a Sarmentus who seems to be identical with the

one here mentioned. According to this, he was the slave of M. Favonius, was bought by Maecenas, manumitted, and, pushing his way forward by his own personal attractions (*forma et urbanitate*), obtained a position as *scriba quaestorius*. At this time he was in Maecenas's retinue. Düntzer thinks the two persons were different, and our Sarmentus, like his companion, an unknown *scurra* of the town. Cicirrus, according to Hesych., means a *cock*, ἀλεκτρυών, and may be an Oscan cognomen.

53. **et quo patre**, etc.: *and of what lineage sprung they waged this war of words; litis*, not *arma*, as one might have expected after such a flourish of trumpets.

54. **genus**: *ancestors; Osci* is nom. plur., predicate to *genus*. — **clarum** is the bitterest irony, for the Oscans were regarded as the lowest of the Italian tribes. According to Festus, Verrius Flaccus derived *obscenus* from *Obscus* = *Opscus* = *Oscus*. From them sprang the *fabulae Atellanae*.

55. **domina**: the widow of Favonius; as slave he has no *genus*.

56. **equi feri**: probably the fabled unicorn. Cf. Pliny, H. N. 8. 21; Aelian, Hist. An. 3. 41.

58. **accipio**, etc.: "*granted*," *and shakes his head as for attack*.

59. **cornu exsecto**: abl. qual. Schol. Cruq. explains this by comparing it with *Campanum morbum*, v. 2, which was, he says, some excrescent, warty growth on the temple, which, when cut out, left an ugly scar.

60. **minitaris**: the editors are divided between the indicative and subjunctive, but the best Mss. have the indicative. There is no doubt that, even in Horace's time, semi-causal clauses sometimes had the indicative; cf. Verg. Ecl. 3. 16, *quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures;* and more striking still Cic. Verr. 1. 10. 28. — **at**: explanatory, but also contrasting the real state of the case with the sneer of Sarmentus.

61. **laevi oris**: *left side of his head;* but see App.

63. **saltaret . . . Cyclopa**: *dance the shepherd Cyclops*, i.e. *saltando imitari;* cf. Ep. 2. 2. 125, *Cyclopa movetur;* Vell. Pater. 2. 73, *Plancus . . . cum Glaucum saltasset in convivio;* Juv. 6. 63, *Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo*. The allusion is to a pantomimic representation of Polyphemus playing the devoted to Galatea. Such performances were very popular just at this time, and were cultivated especially by Pylades and Bathyllus, a favorite freedman of Maecenas.



64. **nil illi**, etc.: "You are big, clumsy, and ugly enough without buskin or mask." — **coturnis**: this is the invariable spelling of this word in Horace's Mss. On the aspiration of consonants in Roman orthography, see Brambach, Neugestaltung, etc., pp. 270–294.

65. **catenam**: slaves were sometimes chained together while at work in the field; occasionally, too, the door-keeper (*ostiarius*), to the floor of the *ostium*, or slaves who had once run away (*fugitivi*).

66. **ex voto**: on giving up any calling it was customary to dedicate the tools of trade to some god; boys, on assuming the *toga virilis*, dedicated their *bulla* to the Lares, and girls, on marrying, offered their dolls to Venus; so the escaped gladiator (Ep. 1. 1. 5) dedicates his weapons to Hercules, the poet his lyre to Venus (Od. 3. 26), the shipwrecked mariner his garments to Neptune (Od. 1. 5. 15).

67. **nilo**: elsewhere Horace has always *nihilo*, putting it invariably after the caesural pause; cf. S. 1. 1. 48; 2. 3. 52 and 56; 2. 3. 270; Ep. 2. 2. 153.

69. Slaves received their rations daily or monthly, *cibaria menstrua* or *diaria;* cf. Ep. 1. 14. 40. The amount was four or five *modii* per month; the *modius* contained 8.73 liters, and was one-sixth of a *medimnus*. This would furnish some four or five pounds per day, while Sarmentus needed hardly more than one pound per day, so small was he and of so delicate a maw. Besides the grain, slaves were furnished wine, oil, salt, olives, figs, and the like, with their necessary clothing.

71. Eighth day, to Beneventum, some eleven miles distant. To account for the shortness of the journey, Kiessling suggests that they kept late hours the night before, and so got a late start. Desjardins reckons that they did not spend the night at Beneventum, but proceeded to Trivicum. Beneventum was formerly called *Maleventum*, but the name was changed to avoid the evil omen; Plin. H. N. 3. 16. — **sedulus hospes**: *our officious host;* it seems strange that Maecenas had no friend whose hospitality he could share in this city, but certainly the scene here depicted points to an ordinary inn.

72. **macros**: not because it was spring-time (see Introduction), but because they were furnished by an inn-keeper. The confused order of words portrays the confusion of scene.

73. The logs roll down and the flames mount to the roof. Note the alliteration.

74. **Volcano**: used for *igne*, as often in poetry and sometimes in prose.

77. Ninth day. The Appian Way led to Brundisium by way of Venusia and Tarentum; but a short distance beyond Beneventum another road, smaller and unpaved, branched off toward the east, and passing through Canusium, Barium, and Egnatia, led along the coast to Brundisium; cf. Strabo, 6. 3. This is the route taken by Horace and party. He is now passing through scenes familiar to his childhood; there is a tender touch in the singular, *notos . . . mihi*.

78. **Atabulus**: *ventus in Apulia ferventissimus*, Porph. A hot, parching, southeast wind, now called *Altino;* cf. *Atabulus Apuliam infestat*, Sen. N. Q. 5. 17; *Horatianus ille Atabulus*, Gell. 2. 22. 25.

79. **erepsemus**: plup. subj.; it is not, however, a syncopated form of *erepsissemus*, but an old aorist, and is similar to such forms as *percusti*, S. 2. 3. 273; *evasti*, 2. 7. 68; *submosses*, 1. 9. 48; *divisse*, 2. 3. 169; *surrexe*, 1. 9. 73; cf. Stolz, Lat. Gram. § 112. Trivicum is mentioned nowhere else; it must have been near the modern Trevico; the distance travelled this day cannot therefore be accurately determined. Desjardins reckons it about 24 miles.

81. **camino**: this was probably a kind of stove, mentioned also Ep. 1. 11. 19, Cic. Fam. 7. 10. 12, and called *focus*, Od. 1. 9. 5. Stoves were not so common, at least in central and southern Italy, as braziers for heating purposes. Whether or not they were connected with flues or chimneys is uncertain, nor does our passage afford any positive proof. A few chimneys have been found in Pompeii in baths and bakeries; cf. Overbeck, Pompeii, p. 340, and Becker, Gall. 2. 317.

86. **rapimur**: *we hurry along;* this is the tenth day. — **et**: a bold hyperbaton. — **raedis**: said to have been of Gallic origin (Quint. 1. 5. 57); these vehicles were the most common ones employed for journeys where several persons or baggage had to be carried; cf. Juv. 3. 10, *dum tota domus reda componitur una.* See Becker, Gall. 3. 19, and see on v. 6.



87. **mansuri**: *in order to spend the night.* — **quod versu dicere non est**: Porphyrio says it was Aequus Tuticus (Tuticus is an Oscan word = *publicus*), but this town lay too far to the north and was too far from Canusium, their next stopping-place. Schütz suggests Herdonia, and a number of other editors Asculum, but both of these names could have been worked into hexameter verse without much difficulty; Herdonia occurs in Sil. Ital. 8. 569, and Asculum could be syncopated or etched away with Synaloepha. But as Lucilius had refrained from writing a name for metrical reasons, this procedure had become a kind of poetical joke. Cf. Mart. 9. 12; Ov. ex Ponto, 4. 12. 7. For inf. dependent on *est*, cf. S. 1. 2. 79 and 101; 2. 5. 103; Ep. 1. 1. 32, and the Greek use of ἔστιν.

88. **signis**: scarcity of water and good bread. — **vilissima rerum**: *of all things the cheapest.*

90. **callidus**: *shrewd, sensible.* — **soleat**: for length of final syllable, cf. S. 1. 4. 82 n.

91. Eleventh day, to Canusium, now Canosa. — **lapidosus** may mean either *gritty*, possibly because of soft millstones, or *hard as stone.* — **aquae**: depends on *ditior;* cf. Od. 4. 8. 5; S. 1. 2. 74; Ep. 2. 2. 31.

92. Bentley was probably right in regarding this verse as the interpolation of some glossator. It is bracketed by L. Müller.

93. **amicis**: dat. rather than abl.

95. Twelfth day, to Rubi, now Ruvo. The distance from Canusium is given in the Jerusalem Itinerary as 30 miles, while the Itinerary of Antoninus gives it as 24 miles.

96. Thirteenth day, to Barium, now Bari, on the sea-coast; therefore called *piscosi*. Desjardins puts the distance 30 or 33 miles.

97. Fourteenth day, 37 miles to Gnatia, which word is a popular or vulgar form of Egnatia. See Introduction, p. xv. — **lymphis iratis**: because it lacked spring water; cf. S. 2. 3. 8, *iratis natus paries dis atque poetis.* Horace seems to have paid especial attention to the quality of the water which he drank or mixed with his wine; cf. v. 7, 24, 88, 91.

99. **limine sacro**: in some temple. Pliny, H. N. 2. 240, relates the miracle a little differently: *reperitur apud auctores . . . in Sallentino oppido Egnatia imposito ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum protinus flammam existere.* It is useless to try to conjure up any explanation of this story. For Biblical parallels, see Levit. 9. 24; 1 Kings 18. 38.

100. **Judaeus Apella**: not with any reference to the Biblical stories, but because the Jews were noted for their superstitions. They were tolerated and protected by Caesar and Augustus, and so thronged the capital. The ancient Ghetto was *trans Tiberim;* see on S. 1. 4. 143; 1. 9. 69. — **Apella**: the name *Apella* = Ἀπελλᾶς, and is a very common name of freedmen. In CIL. IX. it occurs five times.

101. **didici**: from Epicurus and his disciple Lucretius, who says, 5. 81, *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevom.*

102. **natura**: φύσις, the creative power of the universe; Lucretius's *rerum natura creatrix.*

103. **tristis**: *gloomy, morose*, "occupied with the care of mortals," the opposite of *securus; angry* is too strong.

104. Fifteenth day, 39 miles to Brundisium, now Brindisi. Others reckon the distance 44 miles.

## SATIRE VI.

Horace's intimacy with Maecenas had made him a target for many an arrow of envy. He was called a *parvenu*, a child of fortune, and it was supposed that he sought influence with the great in order to push his own way in the world. On all of these points Horace defends himself, giving proof of a spirit simple and content, and an ambition never striving to o'erreach itself.

Argument: In spite of your noble birth, Maecenas, you do not turn up your nose at those of humble origin (1–6); indeed, you know that the lowly often rise to eminence by innate virtue, and those of lineage proud sometimes meet with repulse even at the hands of the fickle populace, which is usually blind to the faults of fame and dazzled by records of honors (7–17). Seeing that this is the character of the crowd, what should ignoble ones like



me do? Be quiet; for if I sought for honors, I would only draw on myself the shame of defeat. Yet all men, even the lowliest, are slaves to ambition, forgetting that they only expose themselves to slander's fouling tongue and the criticising stare of the world (17–44). To return to myself. Though formerly one might have envied me as Tribune, now surely no one has the right to begrudge me your friendship (45–53). No chance nor misrepresentation has brought me this distinction, but my intimacy with Vergil and Varius, and my own worth of character (54–64). And yet for this I take no credit to myself. I owe it all to my father and his tender care. Of him I could never be ashamed, nor regret that fate did not cast my lot amid other surroundings (65–99). A nobler birth had brought me many cares, and deprived me of the joyous freedom of life that now is mine (100–131).

There is no clue for fixing the exact date of this satire. Horace's friendship with Maecenas is of somewhat long standing (see note on v. 107). The satirical element appears only in special points. The graceful picture of Horace's boyhood and his relation to his father renders it one of the most charming of his poems.

1. **non**: the negative, continued by *nec* (v. 3), belongs really to *suspendis.* — **Lydorum**: according to Herod. 1. 94, after a famine that had lasted 18 years, Tyrsenus, son of King Atys, led a colony of Lydians to Italy, where they settled in the district called after him Tyrrhenia, which was another name for Etruria. Tacitus, Ann. 4. 55, says that this story was approved by the Etrurian nobility, and allusions to it are quite common among the poets. So the Roman is spoken of as Troiugena. For allusions to the Tuscan origin of Maecenas, see Od. 1. 1. 1; 3. 29. 1. The gen. *Lydorum* depends grammatically on *quicquid*, in thought also on *nemo;* cf. *deorum quicquid*, Epod. 5. 1.

3. Maecenas was descended from the Cilnian family, which came from Arretium in Etruria, where they belonged to the *Lucumones* or patricians, who were alone entitled to hold the highest offices of state. In specially mentioning *maternus*, there may be allusion to the Etrurian custom of reckoning pedigrees from the mother's side.

4. **legionibus**: used of foreign hosts as well as Roman; cf. Sall. Cat. 53; Liv. 8. 24; 10. 5.

5. **naso suspendis**: a rather sudden fall in tone; cf. S. 2. 8. 64, *Balatro suspendens omnia naso.* Persius imitates this line, 1. 40, *nimis uncis naribus indulges.*

6. **ignotos**: with force of *ignobiles*, as v. 24 and 36.

8. **dum ingenuus**: sc. *sit.* Schol. Cruq. interprets as *honestis moribus. Ingenuus hic ad morum probitatem pertinet.* This interpretation is perfectly legitimate (cf. Cic. Lael. 18. 65), and is preferred by Schütz, Krüger, and others. The most natural explanation, however, is to take it in its literal sense. Augustus is said to have excluded *libertini* from his table. — **persuades . . . vere**: *you prove yourself sincerely convinced of this.*

9. **Tulli**: Servius Tullius, the first prominent example in Rome's history of elevation from obscurity. Of him Liv. 4. 3 says, *Servium Tullium . . . captiva Corniculana natum, patre nullo, matre serva, ingenio ac virtute regnum tenuisse.* He gave the plebeians a place in the Roman army by his reforms of the constitution.

12. **Laevinum**: both his date and personal history altogether uncertain. His family had been renowned, so he is an unworthy son of noble sires. Of his degeneracy Porphyrio says, *hic P. Valerius adeo foedis et proiectis in omnem turpitudinem moribus vixit, ut provehi non potuerit ultra quaestoriam dignitatem.* A Laevinus appears in the list of consuls for the last time in 176 B.C. — **unde** = *a quo.* Cf. Od. 1. 12. 17; S. 2. 3. 238. The reference is to P. Valerius Publicola, who aided in expelling Tarquinius Superbus. — **Superbus**: the cognomen placed first, as in *Crispe Sallusti*, Od. 2. 2. 3; *Regis Rupili*, Od. 1. 7. 1; *Capito Fonteius*, S. 1. 5. 32.

13. **pulsus fugit**: *was driven, an exile.* The histor. pres. is a favorite construction in such short relative parenthetic sentences; cf. S. 1. 2. 56; 2. 3. 277. — **unius assis . . . populo**: "was never valued at more than the worth of a single as, even in the estimation of the people, the nature of whose judgments you know." *Pretio* is for *quam pretium;* cf. Cic. Sest. 142, *quis Carthaginiensium pluris fuit Annibale.* Horace's sentence is not ungrammatical, though it would have been more polished had he written, *non plus unius assis licuisse.*

14. **notante**: the repulse which the people gave Laevinus is, as it were, a censor's *nota.* In consideration of the following *qui famae servit*, we expect *notante vel populo;* the place of this *vel* is supplied by the appositional clause, *iudice quo nosti*, "a judge truly well known to you." *Quo* is in abl. by attraction.



15. **stultus**: *in their folly.*

16. **famae servit**, etc.: *are silly slaves to fame, and are dazzled by the glory of busts and lineal trees.*

17. **titulis et imaginibus**: busts of ancestors, with inscriptions recounting their deeds. The right to preserve the images of their ancestors was one of the distinctive marks of the Roman nobility, that is, of those persons of whom some ancestor had held a curule office. The custom was probably taken from the consular patrician families, and its origin has been sought in the belief that the preservation of the bodily form in some way, as by embalming or covering the face with a mask, carried with it the preservation of the spirit's identity. And so masks of varied material, as gold, silver, bronze, iron, or clay, have been found in Phoenicia, Greece, and Italy. In Rome the *imagines* were masks of wax, which were placed over a bust and preserved in cases (*armaria*), which stood in the *atrium*, or rather in the *alae*, two wings opening out from the *atrium.* On festival occasions they were crowned with laurel garlands, and on the death of one of the family, were worn in the funeral procession by some person of somewhat the same size and figure as was the one the mask represented. These assistants wore the dress and insignia which belonged to the ones they personated, and preceded the bier, so that it appeared as if the ancestors were leading their kinsman to the tomb. See Marquardt, Handbuch, VII., p. 23; Becker's Gallus, I. 37; III. 505.

17–23. This passage is best construed by taking *nos* to refer only to Horace himself, as appears from v. 20 and 21; then *longe longeque remotos* means, "sunk in privacy out of sight of the populace that is devoted to titles." The answer to the question plainly is, "Remain quiet, content with the friendship of Maecenas, and attempt not civil honors." The case of Laevinus was cited as an historical example justifying the liberality of Maecenas towards *libertini;* this led incidentally to the description of the populace, *qui stultus . . . imaginibus;* this general character of the mob is the reason why Horace should not seek political preferment: "for, let us suppose that the people would have preferred an unworthy

aristocrat to a *novus homo*, a Laevinus to Decius (which as a matter of fact they often did), or that Appius would have removed me from the senate (which he did not do, simply because I did not attempt to get into that body) on the ground that I was the son of a *libertinus;* we should have had no just ground of complaint, for we were trying to get out of our sphere."

20. **Decio**: P. Decius Mus was the first consul of his family, and so a fine example of a *novus homo*. He devoted himself to death at the battle of Mt. Vesuvius against the Latins in 340 B.C.

21. **Appius**: this may refer to Appius Claudius Caecus, Censor 312 B.C., as type of a strict censor; but if so, the example is rather unfortunately chosen, inasmuch as it is expressly stated of him that he was the first to degrade the senate by admitting the sons of freedmen, Liv. 9. 46. Many, therefore, refer the allusion to Appius Claudius Pulcher, Censor 50 B.C., who removed all such from the senate; Dio. Cass. 40. 63. — **ingenuo . . . natus**: though Horace was born free, according to the definition of Gaius (1. 13), yet the sons of *libertini* shared many of the disabilities of their fathers. They could not hold the higher offices, i.e. lacked the *ius honorum*, nor have a seat in the senate, nor become *equites*. Exceptions occur in special cases. See Mommsen, Handbuch, III., p. 451.

22. **in propria pelle**: a proverbial expression taken from the fable of the ass in the lion's skin; cf. S. 2. 1. 64.

23. Ambition has many slaves, and the world loves to pelt them. — **Gloria**: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 177, *ventoso Gloria curru*. We find a similar personification of *Discordia*, S. 1. 4. 60; and *Pecunia*, S. 1. 6. 37.

24. **quo**, etc.: the inf. in such clauses is paralleled by the use of the acc., as, *quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti*, Ep. 1. 5. 12. That there is any ellipsis of a governing verb is altogether unlikely; it is rather an extension of the acc. or the inf. in exclamations; cf. Ov. A. A. 1. 303; Am. 3. 8. 47. — **Tilli**: of him Schol. Cruq. says, *Tullius* (i.e. Tillius) *hic senatu motus est a Caesare quasi Pompeianus; occiso vero Caesare recepit latum iterum clavum, id est, senatoriam dignitatem et tribunus militum factus est*. This suits the brother of Tillius Cimber, one of the conspirators against Caesar, but it is more likely that *tribunus* here means tribune of the plebs, and not *tribunus militum*. But *sumere clavum* and *fieri tribuno* must be kept apart, as the tribune did not wear the *clavus*.



26. **esset**: the protasis is in *privato*.

27. **insanus**: for such he seems to Horace, just as inordinate ambition is reckoned a *morbus*, v. 30. The two distinctive marks of the senator were the laticlave and the shoe. For the laticlave, see on S. 1. 4. 36. It is uncertain whether the shoe was black or red. It was provided with four black leather bands (*corrigiae*), here loosely called *pelles*, which were wrapped crosswise around the leg; see Marquardt, Handbuch, VII., p. 591, and Becker, Gall. III., p. 233 ff.

30. **aegrotet**: figuratively, as S. 2. 3. 307, *quo me aegrotare putes animi vitio*. — **morbo**: his disease is no physical defect, as some have supposed, but vanity itself. Of Barrus nothing is known; he is hardly the same as the one mentioned S. 1. 7. 8. The scholiasts confound him with the dissolute knight, the well-known Betutius Barrus. "As, in case any one should be smitten with the disease of Barrus and should desire to be considered handsome, wherever he go, he would set the girls' eyes a-goggling as they scan his face, calf, foot, teeth, and hair."

34. Editors disagree as to who is meant here, some suggesting a *tribunus plebis*, others any higher magistrate, others a senator. The sphere of activity mentioned, especially that indicated by the words *imperium et Italiam*, is rather broad for any of the magistrates, but serves to characterize the extravagant professions of eager candidates.

36. **ignota** and **inhonestus** are used of rank, as in v. 6, 24, 96.

38. The punctuation of this line, making *Syri* an adj., is due to Madvig, Adv. Crit. I., p. 105, n. 2. These words are indignantly addressed by some citizen to an upstart magistrate, not necessarily the same as the one mentioned in v. 34. Dama and Dionysius are names of slaves. The office held seems to have been *tribunus plebis*, and was so understood by the scholiasts, though the infliction of such a punishment belonged only to extreme case; cf. Mommsen, Röm. Forsch. II., p. 193. — **Cadmo**: Porphyrio says, *Cadmus carnifex illo tempore fuisse dicitur*. Palmer thinks he was only a jailer, as the *carnifex* executed only slaves and foreigners.

39. **deicere**: to be scanned as three syllables, as in Verg. Ecl. 3. 96; Lucret. 3. 877.

40. The *parvenu* points to his colleague, who was himself a *libertinus*. Diod. 48. 34 says that even *libertini* were admitted to the senate by the triumvirs. — **gradu post**: figuratively used; the language is taken from the theatre, where the senators had the privilege of sitting in the orchestra, while the knights had the first fourteen rows behind them, with the mass of the citizens in their rear.

41. **Paulus et Messala**: members of the oldest patrician families of the Aemilian and Valerian *gentes;* see on S. 1. 10. 29.

42. **ducenta**: see on S. 1. 5. 12. The use of all vehicles in Rome was strictly regulated and for the most part forbidden. Caesar's municipal law (45 B.C.) allowed no loaded wagons to pass through the streets from sunrise till the tenth hour, unless they were employed in hauling material for some religious or public building; see Becker's Gallus, III., p. 12. Funeral processions of the great stopped in the forum, where some relative of the deceased delivered the funeral discourse (*laudatio funebris*) from the *rostra*. The procession itself was headed by *tibicines*, and sometimes the more pretentious tones of the *tubae* and *cornua* were added; see Becker's Gallus, III., p. 502 ff.

43. **magna** is here taken with *funera*, as Cic. Fam. 4. 12. 3 says, *funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi*. Most editors put a comma after *funera*, and take *magna sonabit* to mean, "he will bawl loud enough to drown." But *magna sonare* really means *to speak loftily*, S. 1. 4. 44; Juv. 7. 108; and the conjunction of *magna* and *quod* is harsh. Others, without much reason, prefer to take *magna* with *cornua*.

44. **saltem**, etc.: "that commends our choice," Con.

45. The thought returns to v. 6. The repetition of *libertino patre natum* graphically mocks the reiteration of this cry by his detractors. Cf. Od. 1. 35. 15; 4. 2. 49.

48. In the army of Brutus and Cassius, which Horace left Athens to join. There were six tribunes to a legion.

49. "The two things differ; they may rightly grudge
My post of honour, but not so my friend,
Cautious to sift from vulgar flatterers
A worthy man." — *Hovenden.*



— **forsit**: *fors sit*. This is the only passage where this word certainly occurs.

51. **prava ambitione procul**: in the absence of a pres. part. of *sum*, this expression has the force of an attribute, and is best taken as qualifying *dignos*. — **prava**: *base, selfish*.

53. **sortitus**: sc. *sim;* for similar omissions, cf. Od. 1. 3. 34; S. 2. 8. 2.

54. **fors obtulit**: cf. S. 1. 1. 2. Bentley changed *mihi te* to *tibi me*. — **olim**: *at that time;* the word is from the same stem as *ille*, of which the older form is *ollus*.

55. **quid essem**: *what I was;* cf. v. 60. For Varius, cf. S. 1. 5. 39.

57. **infans**: *speechless;* mark the alliteration.

59. **Satureiano**: *id est Tarentino*, Acro. Σατύριον is the old mythical name of the region round Tarentum. The adj. belongs more closely to *rura* than *caballo*. — **caballo**: see on S. 1. 1. 78.

61. **iubes esse**: *bid me count myself*.

63. **turpi . . . honestum**: probably masc.

64. Note the alliteration; the ablatives are instrumental with *secernis*.

65. **atqui**, etc.: "and yet it is to my father that I owe this." — **vitiis** is any deviation from the proper norm, here in striking contrast to *recta*.

68. **mala lustra**: *haunts of wickedness*.

71. **agello**: this little paternal estate was probably confiscated during the civil wars.

72. **Flavi**: his school was at Venusia. — **magni . . . magnis . . . centurionibus**: Venusia was a military colony (cf. S. 2. 1. 35), and doubtless these old centurions formed the aristocracy of the place, and looked down upon such humble *libertini* as Horace's father. In Pompeii, on the other hand, the native Oscan element held itself above the members of Sulla's military colony.

74. **suspensi**: in the poets and Tacitus many pass. verbs, especially in the past part., retain the direct object in the acc., expressing either (1) a part of the body, etc., or (2) a thing worn, etc. The pass. verb may usually be regarded as reflexive, Roby, 1126. — **loculos**: same as *capsa*, a receptacle for books, tablets, etc. At Rome this burden was committed into the hands of a slave

(*capsarius*), but in Venusia even the children of the great are their own lackeys. — **tabulam**: a waxen tablet for writing. The instruction was doubtless confined to the three *r*'s. For an example of an arithmetic lesson, see A. P. 325.

75. **octonos**, etc.: "bringing up their dues — eight asses — on the Ides of every month." For the Ides as pay-day, cf. Epod. 2. 69. With *octonos* the word *asses* is omitted, as Cic. pro Rosc. Com. 10. 28, *non amplius poterant duodecim aeris;* cf. Plin. H. N. 14. 16. 95. The amount here paid was meagre indeed, 10 to 12 cents per month, but the expression may be proverbial. For *octussis* designating a paltry sum, see S. 2. 3. 156. The natural end of a school-teacher, even before Holmes's day, was to perish by starvation. Even of the popular Orbilius, Suetonius writes (Gram. 9), *docuitque maiore fama quam emolumento. namque iam persenex pauperem se et habitare sub tegulis quodam scripto fatetur.* See App.

76. **est ausus**: *he ventured*, in spite of his meagre means.

77. **artis**: in opposition to the trivial branches taught in the school of Flavius; Greek, grammar, metre, and rhetoric would be included. Cf. Cic. pro Arch. 3. 4, *artes quibus aetas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet.* All this he found in the school of Orbilius; see Ep. 2. 1. 70; 2. 2. 41.

79. **in magno ut populo**: this may be interpreted either "as is becoming or customary in a great city" (Orelli, Dillenburger, Krüger), or *ut* may be causal, with the force of the Greek ὅτε, and not restrictive: "the public could not know my humble origin, nor that my pedagogue was my father, for we were no longer in little Venusia, but in great Rome;" so Doederlein, Kiessling, L. Müller.

80. **illos**: emphatic position, almost equal to *tantos;* cf. *huius*, v. 89, in sense of *tam boni*.

81. **custos**: cf. S. 1. 4. 118. Horace's father took the place of the pedagogue, while others often employed for this purpose an old and worn-out slave, by no means a careful guard of the ones committed to their care.

82. **doctores**: only Orbilius is mentioned by name, Ep. 2. 1. 71. — **quid multa**: *in short;* omitting details and coming to the main point.

83. **ab omni facto** belongs to *servavit*.



85. **sibi ne**, etc.: "the world should talk of money thrown away," Con.

86. **praeco**: an auctioneer, whose business was pretty much the same at Rome as with us; cf. A. P. 419. There were also many other subordinate officers with this same title, mainly assistants of the higher magistrates, — heralds, criers, — for calling together the *comitia*, courts of justice, etc. — **coactor**: in the life of Horace attributed to Suetonius, he is said to have been *exactionum coactor*, or, according to a variant reading, *auctionum coactor* (cf. Ritter, prol. VI.). The former of these two names was applied to an assistant of the *publicani*, a collector of taxes. The latter, which is probably the true term for the position held by Horace's father, was given to the collector of moneys bid at auction, on which he received a commission, often one per cent; cf. Cic. pro Rabir. Post. 11. 30. This was probably the occupation of Horace's father in Rome, not in Venusia.

87. **at nunc**: showing that this possibility was not realized; often in prose *nunc vero*.

89. **Nil me paeniteat sanum**: *Never can I regret, so long as I keep my senses.*

90. **dolo suo**: the same as *culpa sua*, which is a legal phrase.

92. **istis**: with something of contempt, *such chaps*. The case is dative. Cf. Ep. 2. 2. 194; 1. 18. 4; S. 1. 4. 48.

93. **vox et ratio**: *my tongue and thought.*

94. **aevum**: a word of time that takes on a local coloring under the influence of *remeare*. — **a certis annis**: *from some fixed time of life*, i.e. some period of life, on attaining which one could go back again.

95. **ad fastum**: *according to his pride.* — **quoscumque** is rel., not indef.; the apodosis begins with *meis contentus*.

97. **fascibus et sellis**: part of the insignia of the higher magistrates. The fasces were bundles of elm or birch rods, bound round an ax (*securis*). The ax was the sign of the power to put to death, and was taken from the fasces of the magistrates in Rome at an early date. The fasces were borne by lictors who preceded the magistrates. Their number varied with the grade of office, being twelve for the consul, and only two for the *Praetor urbanus*. The magistrates entitled to this distinction were Dictator, Magister

Equitum, Consul, Proconsul, Praetor; see Mommsen, Handbuch, I., p. 372 ff. The *sella curulis* was generally of ivory, without arms or back, and belonged to the magistrates just mentioned and to the Censor and Curule Aedile.

101. **salutandi**: this refers to the morning visit (*salutatio*) that was paid by clients and dependents to their patrons. That the custom was often a burdensome one appears from many allusions in Martial and Juvenal; *salutare* is used both of the caller and the receiver, cf. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 20. 3. — **ducendus et**: for *et ducendus*. It was expected that men of high station should take companions and friends with them on excursions or journeys into the country, as Maecenas did on the trip to Brundisium.

102. **peregreve**: see App. The final vowel is elided, as in S. 1. 4. 96.

104. **petorrita**: a heavy four-wheeled wagon, the name of which is Celtic; cf. Festus, p. 206: *petorritum et Gallicum vehiculum esse et nomen eius dictum esse existimant a numero IV rotarum, alii Osce, quod hi quoque petora quattuor vocent.* For other Celtic words applied to vehicles, cf. *carrum, cisium, covinus, essedum, ploxenus, raeda.* — **curto**: the picturesque rendering "bob-tailed" is not supported by other passages, nor do the Romans seem to have practised this species of cruelty. It may be a part of his *curta supellex* and so equal to *unpretentious*. Hovenden renders it "well clipped," and refers to the Spanish practice of shearing mules to keep them cool.

106. **mantica**: *saddle-bags.* — **armos**: *shoulders.*

107. This is the Tillius of v. 24. Kiessling makes the following ingenious but uncertain calculation as to the date of this Satire. If Tillius returned to Rome by virtue of the amnesty of 39 B.C., he could not have held the office of Tribune before 38, nor Praetor before 36 B.C. As his term of office seems already to have expired (v. 110), this Satire must have been written in 35 B.C.

108. **Tiburte via**: Tibur (Tivoli) was about 20 Roman miles northeast of Rome. It was a favorite resort of the wealthy and great, so that the meanness of Tillius in travelling with so small a retinue, who were provided, too, with their own means of entertainment and so avoided the inns, is all the more apparent. In nothing was the growth of Roman luxury more conspicuous than



in the number of slaves. Even Horace in his poverty is served by three (v. 116), and in S. 1. 3. 11 Tigellius varies his number from 10 to 200. Pliny, H. N. 33. 10. 135, tells how Caecilius Claudius Isidorus left behind him on his death 4116 slaves. — **secuntur**: this is the orthography of almost all the Mss. and indicates the proper pronunciation. Latin *u* in final syllables originated largely out of *o*; e.g. *filius* < *filios*; *donum* < *donom*; *vehunt* < *vehont*. This change of *o* > *u* was resisted, however, when the *o* was preceded by *u*, vowel or consonant, as in *vivont, equos*, etc. But towards the end of the Ciceronian period *o* changed to *u* even here, whereupon *quu* and *guu* contracted at once to *cu* and *gu*, so that we have *ecus, cum, relincunt, ungunt*. The grammarians of the empire, misled by analogy, restored the orthography *quu* and *guu*, except in a few forms, as *cum, locutus*, etc. See Bersu, *Die Gutteralen*, etc., Berlin, 1885.

109. **lasanum**: some kind of cooking utensil.

111. **milibus atque aliis**: *and in a thousand other ways.*

112. **solus**: in S. 1. 9. 10 he has a slave with him.

113. **fallacem circum**: in the arches under the seats of the Circus Maximus were booths of all sorts, shops, dives, etc.; there astrologers, fortune tellers, and the like plied their trades. — **vespertinum**: almost the same as *otiosum*.

115. **ad porri**, etc.: *my frugal meal of fritter, vetch, and leek.*

116. **pueris**: the omission of the preposition is not surprising, for the slaves were a part of the *instrumenta cenae*. — **lapis albus**: *mensa marmorea, quam Delphicam vocant, scilicet quae pretii non est magni;* Schol. Cruq. A marble table would be a mark of simplicity compared with those tables of citrus wood, for one of which even Cicero is said to have paid 500,000 sesterces (about $20,500), Plin. H. N. 13. 15. 92.

117. **pocula**: goblets for drinking; they usually were in pairs; cf. *scyphorum paria complura*, Cic. Verr. 2. 47. The extra goblet was probably for a different kind of wine, though it may have been used for water in case a guest wished to drink a weaker mixture than had been provided in the *crater*. — **cyatho**: a ladle; as a measure, one-twelfth of a *sextarius;* see on S. 1. 1. 46. — **echinus**: a vessel somewhat resembling the sea urchin in shape. Both the material of which it was made and the use for which it was in-

tended are unknown. The scholiasts suggest a salt-cellar, a flask of glass or leather, a wooden case for holding or a bronze vessel for washing the cups

118. **gutus**: a flask containing a finer kind of wine for offering a libation by pouring a few drops on the *patera*. — **Campana supellex**: *cheap pottery;* cf. *Campana trulla*, S. 2. 3. 144.

120. **Marsya** = *Marsyas*. The statue of Marsyas was in the forum at Rome, near the Praetor's tribunal. In *obeundus* there may be a play on the expression *obire vadimonium*, as Porphyrio puts it, *quia in foro vadimonium sistendum apud signum Marsyae sit.* The statue of Bacchus and also that of his attendant, the Satyr Marsyas, were often erected in the market-place of towns as the symbol of liberty. Cf. Servius on Aen. 4. 58: *Marsyas eius* (i.e. *Liberi*) *minister civitatibus in foro positus libertatis indicium est, qui erecta manu testatur nihil urbi deesse.* Horace interprets this uplifted hand as being about to strike the usurer Novius. Another explanation is that of Boettiger, who referring to the well-known contest of Marsyas with Apollo, suggests that statues of Marsyas were erected in the fora of republican cities as a reminder of the just punishment which befell insolence. In that case it would be the distorted, saddened countenance of Marsyas that would express disgust at the sight of Novius.

122. **ad quartam**: see on S. 1. 5. 23. He lies in bed, not sleeping, but reading and writing; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 112; 1. 17. 6. — **lecto aut scripto** are abl. abs. indicating the manner in which his morning hours had been spent; cf. S. 1. 1. 94, *parto quod avebas.*

123. **unguor**: preparatory to the sports of the Campus Martius; cf. Od. 1. 8. 4.

124. A side thrust at some unknown enemy.

125. The usual time for bathing was before the *cena*, about the eighth hour, but to bathe before the *prandium*, as Horace does, was not unheard of; cf. Mart. 10. 48. Hadrian suffered no one to bathe before the eighth hour, unless sick. See Becker, Gallus, III., p. 153.

126. **lusum**: usually taken as a substitute for *ludum*, but Palmer and Tyrrell (Class. Rev. V., p. 171) take it as a participle: "the game of ball I have now done playing." See App. — **trigonem**: this game is also mentioned by Martial, and seems to have been a kind of three-cornered pitching and catching; see on S. 1. 5. 48.



## SATIRE IX.

Horace's intimacy with Maecenas doubtless made him an object of envy to many a conceited *littérateur*, and likely enough he was often besieged by adventurers who desired to gain through him admission to that sacred circle. Such an incident is gracefully related in this satire. As the poet, early in the morning, is passing from his home along the *sacra via* to visit a friend lying sick beyond the Tiber, he is joined by an obtrusive acquaintance who praises his own literary ability, points out the services he could render Horace, and with constantly increasing openness and servility asks for an introduction to Maecenas. Horace's efforts to rid himself of his importunate companion are vain, and even his friend Aristius waggishly amuses himself at the poet's expense, until at last deliverance comes through the appearance of the Bore's antagonist in a lawsuit. This satire must have been highly acceptable to Maecenas, and has always been a favorite with students of Horace. It is strikingly dramatic and could be put on the stage with hardly a change. Some of the editors have amused themselves with attempts to identify the person here described. The most famous suggestion is that of Volpi, who, in the preface to his edition of Propertius, 1755, argues that this poet was Horace's bore. Some color of probability is lent to the suggestion that these two poets were not on good terms by the fact that they never speak of each other in their writings (see on Ep. 2. 2. 91); but Volpi's supposition is in this case extremely improbable, since, according to the best authorities, Propertius was at this time a youth of not more than fifteen or twenty summers.

The date of this satire cannot be accurately determined. Horace seems already well established in Maecenas's friendship, and this is the only clue we have as to the time when it was written.

1. **via sacra**: usually written *sacra via*. This was the most famous street in Rome. The origin of its name was uncertain even to the Romans themselves, though some referred it to the fact that here the treaty was said to have been made between Romulus and Tatius; see Festus, s.v. It extended from the Colosseum to the Capitol (*sacer clivus*, Od. 4. 2. 35). — **sicut meus est mos** be-

longs with *meditans*, not *ibam*. Horace was not so fond of turning out in the streets at so early an hour; cf. S. 1. 6. 122.

2. **nugarum**: of a poetic nature; *sic verecunde poetae nugas solent appellare versiculos suos*, Porph. Cf. Ep. 1. 19. 42; 2. 2. 141; Catull. 1. 4, *tu solebas meas esse aliquid putare nugas*. At this time iambics and dactyls were the feet that came dancing through his brain. — **totus in illis**: *wholly absorbed in them;* cf. *omnis in hoc sum*, Ep. 1. 1. 11.

4. **quid agis**, etc.: "*my dearest of fellows, how d'you do?*" *quid agis* is a common form of salutation, perhaps a little more cordial than *quid agitur* and *quid fit*.

5. **suaviter**: sc. *ago*, like *bene ago*. — **ut nunc est**: *considering the times*. — **cupio**, etc.: a polite formula returning the compliment of the greeting; cf. *omnia quae tu vis, ea cupio*, Plaut. Pers. 5. 1. 14; *di dent quae velis*, Plaut. Epid. 1. 1. 4.

6. **numquid vis?** was used as a common formula of bidding adieu, but could also be taken in a literal sense; cf. *Rogo numquid velit. Recte, inquit, abeo*, Ter. Eun. 2. 3. 50. On the other hand, *Numquid nunc aliud me vis. Ne me noveris*, Plaut. Mil. Glor. 575. — **occupo**: "*I anticipate him with*," as Ep. 1. 7. 66. — **ille**: used constantly for the bore, as in v. 12, 13, 21, 41, 61, 74.

7. **noris nos** can be taken in immediate connection with *vis* as in the sentence quoted above from Mil. Glor., or it may be construed independently with optative or imperative force. — **docti** characterizes especially literary culture; cf. *Maecenas docte*, Ep. 1. 19. 1. What the boaster means by it is explained in v. 23–25.

8. **misere**: *dreadfully;* familiarly used for *vehementer;* cf. v. 14: so often used by Terence. See Introduction, p. XVIII.

9. The infinitives are historical. — **in aurem**: as a hint to the intruder that his presence was not desirable.

10. **puero**: attendant slave, *pedisequus*.

11. Bolanus was some well-known hot-tempered one (cf. *cerebrosus*, S. 1. 5. 21), whose ability to fly into a passion Horace almost envies.

12. **cum quidlibet garriret**: *while he was chatting about everything;* cf. S. 1. 10. 41; 2. 6. 77.

13. **vicos**: *squares, blocks*.

14. The bore tries playfully to banter Horace into a better humor, but only meets with a new rebuff.



15. **sed nil agis**, etc.: "but it's no use, I shall not let you go;" sc. *te* with *tenebo*.

16. **prosequar**: *I shall accompany you*.

17. **circumagi**: this is usually taken literally, "to be taken out of your way," but Kiessling thinks it may have the figurative meaning of *circumducere* in comedy, viz. *mislead, impose upon*.

18. **cubat**: *lies sick;* cf. S. 2. 3. 289; Ep. 2. 2. 68. The gardens mentioned had been left by Julius Caesar to the public, and were situated on the south side of the Janiculum, opposite the Aventine. Shakespeare erred in placing them "on this side Tiber."

20. **demitto auriculas**: *metaphora a brutis; nam lassis asinis vel equis pendent aures;* Schol. Cruq. On the other hand *iniquae mentis* is transferred from man to the ass; cf. *inique*, Ep. 1. 14. 12.

21. **dorso**: Kiessling construes with *gravius;* Palmer with *subiit*, like Verg. Aen. 2. 708, *ipse subibo umeris*. For the quantity of the final syllable in *subiit*, see on S. 1. 4. 82. — **incipit**: coming at last to his real purpose.

22. **si bene me novi**: cf. *si bene te novi*, Ep. 1. 18. 1. — **Viscum**: cf. S. 1. 10. 83. There were two friends of Horace of this name, sons of Vibius Viscus. *Visci duo fratres fuerunt optimi poetae et iudices critici, quorum pater Vibius Viscus quamvis divitiis et amicitia Augusti clarus esset in equestri tamen ordine permansit, cum filios suos senatores fecisset*, Schol. Cruq.

23. **Varium**: see on S. 1. 5. 40.

24. He is another Crispinus (S. 1. 4. 14) with the dancing ability of Milonius (S. 2. 1. 25) added, — an accomplishment that was not in good repute, for Cicero (Mur. 6. 13) says: *nemo fere saltat sobrius nisi forte insanit*.

25. **Hermogenes**: see on S. 1. 4. 72. The accomplishments named were well calculated to excite Horace's disgust, and so he interrupts him impatiently.

26. **locus**: *locus justus*. As Horace's mild attempt (v. 15) to get rid of the bore had been a failure, he tried something stronger, making a purposely vague suggestion of danger and reminding him of loved ones at home. The man's answer takes Horace by surprise and leads him to think of his own danger. His reflections (v. 28–34) are solely for the reader.

28. **omnis composui**: "*I have laid them all to rest.*" This verb is used both of arranging the corpse on the funeral couch and of gathering together the bones and ashes after the body had been burned. The latter is the more appropriate interpretation here; cf. the Greek use of περιστέλλειν. — **felices**, etc.: *hoc Horatius tacitus apud se dicit*, Porph.; so also v. 11.

29. **confice**: *finish me.*

30. The Sabellian tribes were skilled in such superstitious practices; cf. Epod. 7. 28. — **divina . . . urna**: divining urn from which the lots were drawn; cf. *divina avis*, Od. 3. 27. 10; *divini vates*, A. P. 400. Bentley, following a suggestion of Schol. Cruq., transposed *mota* and *divina*, taking the latter as nom. with *anus*.

31. **Hunc neque**, etc.: the fate predicted by the fortune-teller is a parody on the encomium of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, preserved by Diog. 7. 27:

> Τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ' χειμὼν κρυόεις, οὐκ ὄμβρος ἀπείρων,
> Οὐ φλὸξ ἠελίοιο δαμάζεται, οὐ νόσος αἰνή, etc.

— **dira venena**: possibly Horace was here thinking of the mixtures of Canidia (Epod. 17. 35; S. 2. 1. 48), as in *hosticus ensis* he may have thought of Philippi. Poisoning was quite frequent at Rome even at this time, and grew more common later. Cicero's oration *pro Cluentio* gives a terrible picture of the frequency of this form of murder. A special chapter in Sulla's *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis* treated of poisoning. For an exhaustive note on this topic, see Mayor's Juv. 1. 70.

32. **laterum dolor**: *pleurisy*, of which Celsus treats, 4. 6. — **tussis**: *consumption*, also called *tabes*.

33. **quando . . . cumque** = *aliquando;* cf. Ov. Met. 6. 544, *quandocumque mihi poenas dabis.* This word is usually a relative conjunction.

35. **ad Vestae**: this same ellipsis is quite common in Greek, Latin, and English. This temple of Vesta, one of the oldest monuments of the Forum, was situated on the south side at the edge of the Palatine. The ruins of its foundation have been unearthed near the temple of Castor and Pollux. Horace was making his way to the *vicus Tuscus*, that he might turn toward the Tiber. — **quarta iam parte**: with the third hour of the day the courts began, as we see from Mart. 4. 8. 2. Close by the temple of Vesta was the *Puteal Libonis*, near which, as we are told by Porphyrio (see on S. 2. 6. 35), was a tribunal of the praetor. The case in which Horace's companion was concerned was a civil one (v. 39), which had already been given a preliminary hearing before the praetor, and was now ready to be brought up for a fuller and more technical trial, *in iure.* The defendant had given bail (*vadato*), and his non-appearance would lose him both the bail and the case.



36. **respondere**: *to put in his appearance.* In this technical sense it is regularly used absolutely, as Bentley has shown. Hence *vadato* is not dat. = *ei qui eum vadatus est*, i.e. *the one who summoned him, bound him by bail*, as Orelli and Harper's Lex. take it, but it is an impersonal abl. abs.; cf. *inauspicato, sortito*, also *parto* (S. 1. 1. 94), *excepto* (Ep. 1. 10. 50). For *vadimonium*, see on S. 1. 1. 11.

37. **fecisset**: this is virtually indirect discourse, representing *fecerit*, or rather *responderit* in the provisions of the law. — **perdere litem**: sc. *debebat.* The question naturally arises why the adversary on meeting him (v. 75) led him by force before the praetor, and did not rather allow him to absent himself and lose the case by default. The only satisfactory explanation is the one given by Palmer: "Because, though in case of default, the plaintiff obtained *possessio bonorum* of the defendant, yet this was incomplete for a year; in case of arrest, judgment in full was summary; Paullus D. 2. 4. 19; Gaius 4. 185. See Dr. Maguire's note, Hermathena, vol. 3, p. 133. 2."

38. **si me amas**: there is no elision, but a shortening of the long final vowel, as is so common in Homer. Another example in Horace is found Epod. 5. 100, and such cases are not infrequent in other poets. — **ades**: imper., *stand by me*, as *advocatus*, not *patronus: qui defendit alterum in iudiciis aut patronus dicitur si orator est, aut advocatus si aut ius suggerit aut praesentiam suam commodat amico;* Ascon. in Cic. Div. 11. The dative with *adesse* is often omitted, cf. Cic. Dom. 133.

39. **stare**: *I am not able to stand so long;* so Schol. Cruq. understands it. This shows that the case was still before the Praetor's court; before the *iudex* (*in iudicio*) the parties sat. Palmer argues that *stare* here = *adesse*, i.e. "I am not competent to

appear as an advocate." In opposition to this, Roby shows (Journal of Phil. XIII., p. 234) that *stare* usually means to be present as a party to a suit, not as an advocate, and that *valeo* is here inappropriate if *stare* be taken as Palmer wishes it.

41. **rem**: *rem pro lite dixit*, Porph. — **sodes**: *libenter etiam copulando verba iungebant, ut "sodes" pro "si audes," "sis" pro "si vis,"* Cic. Or. 45. 154. In this sense its derivation from *avidus* becomes clear; *aveo, avidus, audeo*, like *areo, aridus, ardeo.*

42. **ut durum**: sc. *est.* Cf. Od. 1. 24. 19; Ter. Phorm. 2. 1. 8.

43. **quomodo tecum**: sc. *agit, on what terms are you with Maecenas?* With this question he comes back to the point he was aiming at when Horace interrupted him, v. 26.

44. In attributing this sentence to Horace we follow the testimony of Porphyrio. Horace gives an intentionally evasive answer. A number of editors give all that is said from v. 40 to 48 to Horace's companion. — **paucorum hominum**: *of few friends;* gen. of quality, cf. Ter. Eun. 409. — **mentis bene sanae**: *and a clear head;* alluding to Maecenas's care in selecting his friends, cf. S. 1. 6. 51.

45. Answer of the bore, *No one ever used his good fortune more skillfully*, i.e. than Maecenas. It is less natural to supply as some wish to do, *than you*, referring the allusion to Horace.

46. **secundas**: sc. *partes, act as your support.* The language of the stage. — **ferre** seems to be used with *partes* through analogy to *ferre personam;* cf. Ep. 1. 17. 29.

47. **hunc hominem**: *your humble servant* (Greenough), a frequent usage in comedy, like the Greek *τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε.* — **tradere** = *commendare*, cf. Ep. 1. 9. 3; 1. 18. 78.

48. **summosses**: used of lictors clearing the way before magistrates; *dispeream* does not affect the construction of the conditional sentence, which continues in the same form as *haberes — si velles.* The plup. strikingly pictures the effectiveness and suddenness of the operation. Translate, "I'll be hanged if you hadn't cleared the crowd out." — **vivimus** is better than *vivitur*, which some Mss. and editions have, because more personal.

50. **malis**: Kiessling takes it to be dat., comparing Horace's construction of *discrepo*, Od. 1. 27. 5, etc.; Orelli, Palmer and Harper's Lex. construe it as abl. Either construction is admissible. — **inquam**: *let me tell you*, with emphasis and indignation; cf. Od. 2. 8. 13; S. 2. 7. 22; 2. 8. 27.



51. **est locus**, etc.: *Each one has his own place.*

52. **magnum narras**: *you don't say so!*

53. **sic habet**: *οὕτως ἔχει*, more usually, *sic se res habet.* — **accendis quare**: we should expect a clause of result after *accendis*, as *ita ut cupiam;* but, as Palmer says, the construction is pregnant, the thought being, "you set me on fire showing me new reasons why, etc."

54. **velis**: *you have only to will it;* Horace grows somewhat sarcastic. *Velis* is best taken as imperative, though some regard it as a protasis without *si;* see on S. 1. 1. 45.

56. **difficilis aditus**: Horace speaks here from his own experience; cf. S. 1. 6. 61. The stranger is carried away with the suggestion, and already feels himself victor. — **dero**: for similar contracted forms cf. S. 2. 1. 17; 2. 2. 98; Ep. 1. 12. 24.

58. **exclusus**: a favorite term for excluded lovers; cf. S. 1. 2. 62; 2. 3. 260. — **tempora**: *favorable opportunities.*

59. **occurram**: as he had just done with Horace. — **triviis** is the place where three ways meet, a fork in the road; the conversation of such corners is generally *trivial.* — **deducam**: down to the forum; cf. Cic. de Sen. § 63; Val. Max. 2. 1. 9. — **nil sine magno**, etc.: a happy rendering of a sentiment common among the Greeks; cf. Pind. Ol. 5. 34; Soph. Electra 945.

61. Aristius Fuscus was an intimate friend of Horace, to whom is addressed Od. 1. 22 and Ep. 1. 10. Schol. Cruq. calls him a *grammaticus doctissimus*, Acro says he was a writer of tragedies, and according to Porphyrio he wrote comedies. Cf. S. 1. 10. 83.

62. **pulchre nosset**: *who knew him through and through.* A colloquialism. Cf. Plancius in Cic. Fam. 10. 23. 1; Phaedr. 4. 20. 2; 5. 10. 10. This is what the grammars call a characteristic relative clause. The subj. denotes quality, and here the rel. cl. is co-ordinate with an adjective. In such cases *is* is not usually expressed before the rel. Cf. *Legioni Messala praeerat, claris maioribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artis bonas attulisset;* Tac. Hist. 3. 9. — **unde venis et quo tendis**: shorter, *unde et quo*, S. 2. 4. 1; cf. *ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν*, Plat. Phaedr. 227 a.

63. **rogat et respondet**: *We ask in turn.* — **vellere**: *to pull his toga.*

64. **pressare**: *to pinch his unresponsive arm.*

65. **male salsus**: *with untimely wit.*

66. **dissimulare**: "*pretends not to notice it.*" — **urere**: of anger, as Ep. 1. 2. 13; cf. Od. 1. 13. 4, *fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.*

67. **certe nescio**, etc.: as signs avail nothing Horace tries words. *Oh, yes; you said you wished a word with me in private.* Aristius refrains from exposing Horace's falsehood, but slyly postpones the interview till another time.

69. **tricesima sabbata**: the Jewish sabbath is often alluded to in classic authors; cf. Ov. A. A. 1. 76 and 416; Tibull. 1. 3. 18; Mart. 4. 47; Juv. 14. 96. The Jewish year began at this time with the month Nisan (April) and the thirtieth sabbath fell some time in October, inasmuch as several feasts seem to have been reckoned as sabbaths. If there was any sabbath or festival known technically by the name here given, no record of the fact is left us. Possibly the correct explanation after all is the one suggested by the schol. and lately defended by Dombart, Archiv. für Lat. Lex. u. Gram. VI., p. 272. According to this, *sabbata* is used in a general sense for "feast day." The thirtieth sabbath is the feast on the 30th day of the month, that is, on the day of new moon, usually called *neomeniae*. Grammatically there is no objection to this, as Ovid (A. A. 1. 76) uses *septima sacra* for *sacra quae septimo die celebrantur*. That the time of new moon was especially celebrated by the Jews appears from Num. 28: 11–15, Amos 8: 5, Hosea 2: 11, and Isaiah 1: 14, which last passage reads in the Latin version: *numenias* (*neomenias*) *vestras et sabbata et diem magnum non sustineo*. Dombart cites from Commodian Instr., 1. 40. 3, a passage where *tricensimae* is used for *neomeniae*, and one in Carm. Apol. 695 where the neut. form *tricesima* occurs in the same sense. This same interpretation is suggested and defended with great learning by Stowasser, Zeitschrift f. d. ö. G. XI., p. 289. Aristius had picked up the expression, but we need not suppose that he uses it here with accuracy. — **vin tu**: this form usually tends toward the negative pole, *vis tu* toward the affirmative; the one expresses a warning, the other an exhortation: translate, *Surely you will not insult the circumcised Jews.*



71. **religio**: *religious scruples.*

73. **surrexe**: for the form see on S. 1. 5. 79; for the construction see A. & G. 274; G. 534; H. 539 III. Horace uses this construction only in the Epodes (8. 1) and Satires (2. 4. 83; 2. 8. 67). In contrast with Horace's thought Catullus characterizes happy days as *soles candidi*, 8. 3.

74. **sub cultro**: like a victim on the altar.

75. **adversarius**: the plaintiff who had previously summoned him.

76. **licet antestari**: *Will you be my witness?* Before laying violent hands on the accused, the prosecutor appealed to a bystander with the words "*licet te antestari?*" If the bystander agreed to be his witness, he responded "*licet*," and offered his ear to be touched by the prosecutor.

77. **oppono auriculam**: Pliny 11. 251 explains the meaning of this custom: *est in aure ima memoriae locus, quem tangentes antestamur.* For this reason Vergil says (Ecl. 6. 3), *Cynthius aurem vellit et admonuit;* Copa 38: *Mors aurem vellens "Vivite," ait, "venio."* — **rapit in ius**: see on v. 37. The *iniectio manus* and the *vocatio in ius* are terms generally used for the first appearance at the trial (see on v. 35), at which time the bail was fixed. Here, however, they unquestionably refer to the second investigation.

78. **servavit Apollo**: this expression was used by Lucilius (308, Lachm), and is a reminiscence of Homer, γ 443, τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων. The god of poetry saves his own.

## SATIRE X.

The criticism of Lucilius in which Horace, a young and almost unknown poet, had indulged in the fourth satire had doubtless stirred up many admirers of the older school. In the present satire Horace, now no longer insignificant and unknown, returns to the attack and defends the position there taken.

Argument: Lucilius had biting wit, but lacked polish, and that sprightliness and versatility that marks the poets of old Greek

comedy (1–19). His use of Greek words, though approved by many, was in bad taste (20–30). Father Quirinus warned me against singing in a strange tongue (31–35). When I turned to my native literature, satire was the only field unoccupied; hence I have devoted myself to this, and with some success, though I do not pretend to equal Lucilius (36–49). Yet I have the right to criticise him and to point out faults that he would be the first to recognize were he living (50–71). The poet must write with the greatest care, if he wishes his verses to live. What care I for the bitings of Pantilius and all his tribe, when such men as Maecenas and Messala approve me? (72–92)

This satire was probably written as a formal close to the first book, and belongs therefore to the year in which this book was published, namely 35 B.C.

The first eight lines are generally admitted to be spurious. They are not in the best or oldest manuscripts, nor are they alluded to by the scholiasts. Both the language and sentiments are unlike Horace, and the senseless *ut redeam illuc* has clearly been added simply to glue these lines to the rest of the poem. They seem to have been written as a parallel passage, a criticism of Lucilius possibly suggested by Horace's lines, and were afterwards added to the text. As to their date there have been many and varied opinions. They must be earlier than the tenth century, since they are found in Mss. of that date. Heindorf, Francke, Teuffel, and L. Müller think they were written by Horace himself, but finally rejected in revising the satire. Kiessling refers them to some contemporary of Horace, mentioning a work of Curtius Nicias *de Lucilio* to which Suetonius alludes (de Gram. 14). Kirchner attributes them to Furius Bibaculus (see on v. 36); Orelli thinks they were written about the middle of the second century, while Keller puts them two centuries later. The Cato alluded to (v. 1) was P. Valerius Cato, a poet and grammarian, friend and contemporary of Calvus and Catullus. He was born about 90 B.C., and lived to a good old age. Possibly he was preparing a corrected edition of Lucilius.

1. **nempe**: introduces the reader at once into a lively discussion: "Yes, I did say that, view him as a bard, Lucilius is unrhythmic, rugged, hard," Con. Persius imitates this beginning in Sat. 3, and Gildersleeve appropriately compares the "common stage trick of beginning a scene with conjunctions." — **incomposito**: cf. *durus componere versus*, S. 1. 4. 8.

2. **Lucili**: see on S. 1. 4. 6. — **fautor est**: equal to *favet*. — **inepte**: cf. *servit ineptus*, S. 1. 6. 16, and Cic. de Or. 2. 4. 17; *qui in aliquo genere inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus dicitur.*

3. **at idem**: contrary to the usual view, Kiessling puts this sentence into the mouth of the adversary, who also appears v. 20 and 23. — **quod sale multo**, etc.: *in that with the stinging salt of wit he rubbed down the city;* in *multo sale* there is a union of the literal and the figurative; cf. *sale nigro*, Ep. 2. 2. 60.

5. **nec tamen**: equal to *attamen non*, as in Ep. 1. 7. 23. — **dederim** = *concesserim, can I be said to have granted;* cf. S. 1. 4. 39.

6. **Laberi mimos**: mimes had existed at Rome from an early date as a kind of plebeian farce. They had at first no proper plot, and were not acted on the stage; they sometimes formed a part of the entertainment at private feasts. Sulla is said (Plutarch, Sulla c. 2) to have been very fond of them. Admitted to the stage, they were used as interludes between the acts of the regular drama, or afterpieces, *exodia*, like the Greek Satyr-dramas, and soon became very popular, driving out the *Atellanae*, which were of a more patrician character. The actors wore no masks that their facial expression might be the better seen, often went without the *soccus* or *coturnus*, and even women acted. The reputation of these *mimae* (S. 1. 2. 2) can be easily imagined. The subject matter of this very popular style of play was equally disgraceful; improper love scenes and domestic broils were the tidbits provided for the Roman palate. Cicero (ad Fam. 12. 18) speaks unfavorably of them, and Ovid (Tr. 2. 497 ff.) recounts their evils at length. Nevertheless we find this species of composition cultivated by two men of talent, D. Laberius and Publilius Syrus, who seem to have elevated the tone of such performances and who were encouraged and favored by Caesar. Laberius (105–43 B.C.) was a knight, and forty-four titles of his plays have come down to us. Macrobius (Sat. 2. 7. 2) tells of an indignity put upon him in his old age by Caesar, who compelled him to appear on the stage (45 B.C.) in a poetical contest with his younger rival Syrus, an enfranchised slave

of Antioch. He expressed his sense of the indignity in an earnest prologue, but Caesar gave the prize to Syrus, improvising the line, *Favente tibi me victus, Laberi, es a Syro.* Horace may be speaking as an enemy of all such performances, or, carried away by the brilliant reputation of Syrus, who was then at the height of his fame, he may intend to cast a slur on the discarded poet.

7. **diducere rictum**: *to stretch the jaws;* cf. Juv. 10. 230.

8. **auditoris**: not *lectoris*, for Horace is thinking of the spoken word; cf. *auris*, v. 10, and *sermone*, v. 11.

11. **tristi**: *earnest, grave;* cf. Ep. 1. 18. 89. Palmer quotes Pope's line, "From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

12. **defendente vicem**: *maintaining the part*, i.e. *adopting the style.* Cf. A. P. 183, *actoris partes . . . defendat;* A. P. 304, *fungar vice cotis.* — **rhetoris**: here used in the Greek sense as the equivalent of *orator;* hence, remove the star before this definition in Harper's Lexicon.

13. **urbani**: the polished society talker, who, as a *dissimulator opis propriae*, skilfully restrains and with calculation applies his strength. Domitius Marsus, ap. Quint. 6. 3. 102, shows that *urbanitas* has a wider meaning than *wit.* See Simcox, Lat. Lit., ch. I.

15. **fortius**: adj., sc. *est: ridicule is stronger than blame.* — **secat**: *settles;* cf. *quo multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites*, Ep. 1. 16. 42. So Cic. de Or. 2. 58. 236, (*orator*) *odiosas res saepe, quas argumentis dilui non facile est, ioco risuque dissolvit.*

16. For the connexion of satire with the old comedy, see on S. 1. 4. 1. — **viris**: cf. *virorum*, S. 1. 4. 2; for case, see on Ep. 1. 19. 3.

17. **stabant**: *were successful*, used of plays, like the English *have a run;* cf. *securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo*, Ep. 2. 1. 176; also Ter. Hec. prol. 2 and 7; Phorm. prol. 9.

18. **Hermogenes**: see on S. 1. 4. 72. Hermogenes and his clique seem to include those who were especially offended at Horace's attitude toward Lucilius. — **simius**: Porphyrio says reference is here made to Demetrius (cf. v. 90), a music teacher of girls. The epithet *simius* would seem to be a hit both at his person and talent.

19. C. Licinius Calvus (82–47 B.C.) and C. Valerius Catullus (87–54 B.C.) were warm personal friends and belonged to the same poetic school. Their poems were light in subject-matter, epigrammatic, erotic, and though Catullus is now recognized as the most original lyric poet that Rome produced, yet Horace seems to have regarded that whole school as effeminate. Even his own lyric productions, which were by no means so intense as those of Catullus, he characterizes as *ludicra*, Ep. 1. 1. 10. Of Calvus we have nothing left.



20. The admirer of Lucilius interposes a plea. The extant fragments of Lucilius give proof of the habit here referred to.

21. **seri studiorum**: a translation of ὀψιμαθεῖς; cf. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 20. 2, ὀψιμαθεῖς *homines scis quam insolentes sint.* — **quine putetis**: Keller regards this *quine* as the fuller form of *quin*, and would translate with Ritter, "How could you then think?" But it is rather to be taken as the nom. pl. of the relative, introducing a causal sentence, which therefore has its verb in the subjunctive. The *-ne* in that case adds an interrogative force which can be best given in English by a simple tone of the voice or a parenthesis: "Who think, do you?" This construction has many parallels in Plautus, Terence, and other poets. Minton Warren argues (Am. Journ. Phil., II., p. 50 ff.) that in *-ne* we have two distinct particles, the one interrogative and the other affirmative, having a strengthening, corroborating force. This latter use he finds in such sentences as this.

22. **Pitholeonti**: Horace probably refers to Pitholaus, which form was not suited to the hexameter. In like manner, Τιμόλαος and Τιμολέων are used as the same name. Suetonius (Caesar 75) tells of a Pitholaus who ridiculed Julius Caesar, and he is probably the one whose witticism on Caninius Rebilus, a consul for one day (45 B.C.), is mentioned in Macrobius, Sat. 2. 2. 13. According to this, his full name was M. Otacilius Pitholaus.

24. **nota**: *brand.* The kind and age of the wine was written on the *amphora*, or on a little ticket fastened to it; cf. Od. 2. 3. 8. In sweet wines the Greeks excelled, and among their very best were reckoned the Chian, Lesbian, and Thasian. Among the Roman wines none acquired such celebrity as the Falernian. It was of a fiery kind, and, as Cicero jokingly said, "bore its age uncommonly well;" Macrob. Sat. 2. 3. 2. Horace calls it *forte*, S. 2. 4. 24; *ardens*, Od. 2. 11. 19; *severum*, Od. 1. 27. 9.

25. **cum versus**, etc.: "Only when you make verses, or before the bar, too?" The subj. is used because of the indirectness of the thought, *te ipsum percontor* suggesting a whole sentence, i.e. *num sermo lingua concinnus utraque suavior sit, cum*, etc. — **te ipsum**: put the question to your inmost soul and best judgment.

26. **causa Petilli**: see on S. 1. 4. 94.

27. **patris Latini**: Latinus, father-in-law of Aeneas, is here spoken of as the ancestor of all Latin-speaking people. *Oblitus* agrees with *tu*, the subject of *malis*. The thought is: "Do you, then, forget your country and race, and, while Poplicola and Corvinus are working out their speeches, most carefully excluding every foreign word, do you prefer to mix in all sorts of outlandish expressions, like the double-tongued native of Canusium?"

29. **Corvinus**: this was the famous M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (64 B.C.–9 A.D.), noted as orator, general, and statesman. He joined successively the sides of Brutus and Cassius, Antony, and Octavian; he was a friend and patron of Tibullus, holding towards him very much the same relation as that held by Maecenas towards Horace. Pedius Poplicola is said by Acro to have been a brother of Messala, but in this he was probably mistaken (see on v. 85), though he may have been related to him. Nothing definite is known concerning him.

30. **foris**: *from abroad.* — **Canusini bilinguis**: Canusium in Apulia (cf. S. 1. 5. 91), where the Greek was a second mother tongue. The other language was originally Oscan, but it gave way before the Latin. Ennius calls the Brutti *bilingues, quod et Osce et Graece loqui soliti sint*, Paull., p. 35.

32. **versiculos**: probably epigrammatic attempts, similar to those of other dilettants preserved in the anthology. — **Quirinus**: Romulus, father of the Romans.

33. **cum somnia vera**: *ferunt autem post mediam noctem somnia veriora esse, quia tunc etiam mens et a potu et a cibo purior est*, Porph. Cf. Moschus, Europ. 2–5; Ov. Her. 18. 195. Professor Shorey reminds me of Tennyson's line in Morte d'Arthur: —

> "Till on to dawn, when dreams
> Begin to feel the truth and stir of day."



34. **in silvam**, etc.: proverbial, like γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας, or our "coals to Newcastle." The mention of those early discarded poetic attempts leads naturally to the notice of the style of composition that was actually adopted, — satire, — and the reasons for so doing.

36. **Alpinus**: this was probably M. Furius Bibaculus (b. 102 B.C. at Cremona), one of whose verses Horace ridicules, S. 2. 5. 41. Acro says that verse was taken from a poem of his called *πραγματεία belli Gallici*, which probably treated, though in no friendly way, of Caesar's campaign in Gaul. To this same source may be referred the allusion in our passage, *defingit Rheni luteum caput*, though the exact meaning of this expression is not clear. *Caput* may be either the source or the mouth of the river; *defingit* is *botches*, or, as Schol. Cruq. puts it, *male describit*. In *iugulat Memnona* we have an allusion to another epic poem, an Aethiopis, after Arctinus of Miletus, recounting the coming of Memnon with his band of Aethiopians to Priam's help after the death of Hector, and the slaying of Memnon by Achilles. Arctinus was one of the Cyclic poets; see on A. P. 136. Of Furius we know that he was no friend of Caesar's, and did not hesitate to attack both him and Augustus in his writings; Tac. Ann. 4. 34. The name Alpinus seems to have been given him by Horace in memory of his unfortunate description of the Alps.

38. **aede**: *in aede musarum ubi poetae carmina sua recitabant*, Porph. On the general practice of poetical recitation, see on S. 1. 4. 73. Allusion seems to be made here, however, to a more definite hearing of dramas or mimes by Maecius Tarpa before they were allowed to go on the stage. Maecius Tarpa is cited A. P. 387 as a famous critic and is mentioned here, not because he was actually censor of plays, for this task fell to the Curule Aediles, but because he had acted as such by Pompey's appointment when his stone theatre was dedicated in 55 B.C. Kiessling thinks reference is made to recitations in a general way by the college of poets at their meetings, and that Tarpa may have been *magister collegii*.

39. **theatris**: abl. of place.

40. Davus and Chremes are stock names in comedy modelled on the Greek. Horace now mentions from among his contemporaries and friends the four masters in four distinct departments of litera-

ture: Fundanius in comedy, Pollio in tragedy, Varius in epic, and Vergil in bucolic poetry.

41. **comis**: acc. pl. agreeing with *libellos*, a paraphrase for, and at the same time possibly a play on *comoedias*. The preceding ablatives give the respect in which this *comitas* was manifested. By some *comis* is taken as nom. sing. — **garrire**: *to rattle off*, indicating the light conversational tone of comedy, as opposed to the more elevated tone of tragedy.

42. **Fundani**: many of this name are recorded in antiquity, but absolutely nothing is known of this writer of comedies. He is the one in whose mouth Horace puts the story of Nasidienus's banquet, S. 2. 8. — **Pollio**: C. Asinius Pollio (75 B.C.–5 A.D.) was one of the most noted figures of the time, great as general, statesman, orator, writer of tragedies, and historian. He founded the first public library at Rome (39 B.C.), and instituted the practice of public recitations (see on S. 1. 4. 73). Of the great merit of his dramas, Verg., Ecl. 8. 10, testifies in the words, *sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno*.

43. **pede ter percusso**: iambic trimeter.

44. **Varius**: see on S. 1. 5. 40. Macrobius cites 12 hexameters from an epic poem of his entitled *de morte*. — **molle atque facetum**: *tender and graceful; not witty*. Thus it was plainly understood by Quintilian, 6. 3. 19. Vergil had at this time published only some minor pieces and the Bucolics. The Georgics were not finished till 30 B.C., and but little was known of the Aeneid at his death in 19 B.C.

45. **adnuĕrunt**: cf. *vertĕrunt*, Epod. 9. 17; *dedĕrunt*, Ep. 1. 4. 7. This is an imitation of similar forms in the older poets, and shows the original quantity. No satisfactory explanation has been found for the universal lengthening of the penults in these forms.

46. **hoc**: i.e. satire, cf. *haec*, v. 37. — **Varrone**: P. Terentius Varro (82–37 B.C.), called Atacinus from his native town or district in Gallia Narbonensis, and to distinguish him from the great M. Terentius Varro of Reate, is not elsewhere spoken of as a writer of satire. He translated freely the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, and wrote a geographical work, *Chorographia*, following Alexander of Ephesus; also an epic called *Bellum Sequanicum*.

47. **quibusdam aliis**: Porphyrio erroneously refers this to Ennius and Pacuvius; but satire did not acquire its distinctive character until Lucilius, and the *saturae* of Ennius and Pacuvius were general, miscellaneous writings. More probably Horace alludes to L. Albucius, of whom Varro, R. R. 3. 2. 17, says, *homo apprime doctus, cuius Luciliano charactere sunt libelli*, or to Sevius Nicanor, mentioned as a writer of satire by Suet. Gram. 5, or to Lenaeus, a freedman of Cn. Pompey, who bitterly attacked the historian Sallust; see Suet. Gram. 15.



48. **inventore**: Lucilius; see on S. 1. 4. 6.

50. **at dixi**: cf. S. 1. 4. 11. The apparent contradiction between the praise and blame bestowed on Lucilius is explained away in the following lines. "Criticism of others is not self-praise; why should not I do what Lucilius did for others, and what he would be the first to do for his own writings were he alive?"

52. **doctus**: "Sir critic," Con. For Homer's nodding, see A. P. 359.

53. **comis**: cf. v. 65. Lucilius was noted for his criticisms of other poets; see Gell. 17. 21. 49; *facit hoc Lucilius cum alias tum vel maxime in tertio libro; meminit IX et X*, Porph. Servius (Aen. 11. 601) cites a verse of Ennius that was criticised by him. — **Acci**: L. Accius (170–about 94 B.C.) was the greatest of Rome's tragic writers. Some 45 titles of his tragedies have been preserved to us, but nothing in full.

54. **Enni**: Q. Ennius (239–169 B.C.) was the creator of artistic poetry at Rome, and was especially famed for his Annals, which gave the history of Rome from Aeneas to his own times, in 18 books. This work introduced the hexameter to the Romans.

55. **cum de se**, etc.: "without claiming for himself superiority to those whom he criticises." For the *cum* cl., see Harper's Lex. s. v. E, 5, a and b; the idea would be made plainer by *cum tamen*.

57. **illīus**: this is the only example in Horace; he has *illĭus* 11 times. — **num . . . num**: the question is not disjunctive, for both causes may work together; cf. S. 1. 4. 77. — **rerum**: *subjects;* cf. *res et verba*, Ep. 1. 19. 25.

58. **factos**: in an artistic sense, highly wrought; cf. Cic. de Or. 3. 48. 184, *oratio quae quidem sit polita atque facta quodam modo. Facere* translates ποιῶ in this same sense. — **euntis mollius**: the same figure as in v. 1.

59. **ac**: after a comparative, as S. 1. 1. 46; 1. 6. 130: "than if any one, content with this alone, to round up his subject in hexameters, etc." — **claudere**: see on S. 1. 4. 40. — **pedibus senis**: see on S. 1. 4. 6. Horace does not use the word "hexameter"; elegiac measure he describes as *versus impariter iuncti*, A. P. 75.

60. **scripsisse**: it is the completion of the task that delights him; but see on S. 2. 8. 79. — **ducentos**: see on S. 1. 5. 12.

61. **Etrusci Cassi**: a poet entirely unknown, but who seems to have been so prolific and worthless a writer that, as Schol. Cruq. says, his funeral pile was made of his own works.

64. **ambustum**: the more usual word is *combustum*, but cf. Tac. Hist. 5. 12, *magna vis frumenti ambusta*. Kirchner suggests that this story may have originated by confounding our Cassius with the orator and historian, Cassius Severus, whose libellous writings were publicly burned by order of the senate.

65. **comis et urbanus**: *pleasant and cultured.*

66. The *carmen rude* here referred to is generally understood to be satire, and not the old Saturnian verses. In that case there are two explanations, both of which can be defended. The one refers *auctor* to Ennius, who wrote satire before Lucilius, but yet of so general a kind that Lucilius may still be called the *inventor* (v. 48) of this species of composition. The other explanation, which is less probable, was brought into favor by C. F. Hermann, and refers *auctor* to Lucilius himself: "more polished *quam exspectari poterat ab auctore carminis rudis et Graecis intacti.*"

69. **detereret**: *smooth away*, with the file, *lima*. — **recideret**: *prune*, as with the gardener's knife, cutting off the too luxuriantly trailing vines.

71. **vivos**: *to the quick;* cf. *crudum . . . unguem abrodens*, Pers. 5. 162.

72. **stilum vertas**: the reverse end of the *stilus* was flattened, and with it the writer smoothed the waxen tablets, erasing what was written. — **saepe**: a final vowel remains short before following *st;* cf. S. 1. 2. 71; 1. 3. 44; 2. 3. 43; 2. 3. 296; and before *sc*, S. 1. 5. 35; 2. 2. 36. — **iterum** belongs to *legi;* cf. Cicero's judgment of the poems of Livius Andronicus, *non digna sunt quae iterum legantur*, Brut. 18. 71.



73. **neque**, etc.: "and in this work seek not the applause of the many, but the praise of the few."

75. **vilibus in ludis**: in elementary schools, where the teacher dictated (Ep. 2. 1. 71) passages for the boys to copy and memorize. Much as Horace dreaded this fate, it had actually overtaken him before the time of Juvenal; cf. Juv. 7. 226.

76. **equitem**: the equestrian order, which occupied the first 14 rows in rear of the orchestra, according to the law of Roscius Otho, passed in 67 B.C.

77. **Arbuscula**: *Arbuscula mima fuisse traditur, quae cum ab irato populo exploderetur, ab equite tamen lauderetur, ait se contentam esse honestorum testimonio*, Porph. Of her appearance at the games given by Milo, 54 B.C., Cicero says (ad Att. 4. 15): *quaeris nunc de Arbuscula; valde placuit; ludi magnifici et grati.*

78. Horace first mentions those about whose opinions he is indifferent (78–81), then those whose approbation he seeks, namely, the circle of Maecenas and the wider circle of the aristocracy of culture (81–87). — **Pantilius**: the name occurs in inscriptions, and seems to have been chosen by Horace because it suggests biting qualities, *πᾶν . . . τίλλειν.*

79. Demetrius (see on v. 18) was a musician, as was Hermogenes; see on S. 1. 4. 72.

80. **Fannius**: see on S. 1. 4. 21.

81. For Plotius and Varius, see on S. 1. 5. 40.

82. **Valgius**: C. Valgius Rufus was an elegiac and epigrammatic poet, a friend of Horace, to whom was addressed Od. 2. 9. He was further noted as the author of grammatical and rhetorical treatises. — **Octavius**: not the emperor, whom Horace always addresses as Caesar or Augustus, but the historian, Octavius Musa, whose untimely death Vergil laments, Catal. 14: *Scripta quidem tua nos multum mirabimur et te raptum et Romanam flebimus historiam.*

83. For Aristius Fuscus, see on S. 1. 9. 61; for the Visci, see on S. 1. 9. 22. One of the brothers seems to have been named Viscus Thurinus; cf. S. 2. 8. 20.

84. **ambitione relegata**: without meaning to flatter them, or seeming to desire to place himself by the side of Pollio or Messala.

85. For Pollio, see on v. 42; for Messala, see on v. 29. His brother is not the Pedius Poplicola there mentioned, but, as Nip-

perdey has shown (Opusc. 495), L. Gellius Publicola, consul 36 B.C., who endeavored to incite a conspiracy while in the army of Brutus and Cassius, and who finally went over to Octavian. Horace may have known him and Messala and Bibulus while staying at Athens.

86. **Bibule**: L. Calpurnius Bibulus, son of M. Calp. Bibulus (d. 48 B.C.) and Porcia, who afterwards was married to M. Junius Brutus. Bibulus went to Athens in 45 B.C., joined his stepfather at the same time with Horace, and after the battle of Philippi attached himself to Antony, who appointed him commander of his fleet and often sent him on diplomatic missions. — Servius was probably the son of the distinguished jurist, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, consul in 51 B.C. — Furnius was the son of a partisan of Antony, but himself favored Augustus. He was consul 17 B.C., when the Saecular games were celebrated, and is mentioned both by Suetonius and Plutarch as a distinguished orator.

88. **prudens**: *purposely.*

90. A parting blow modelled in form after, and reversing the meaning of *valere te iubeo*, like the Greek *οἰμώζειν κελεύω* instead of *ἔρρωσο*. The addition of *inter cathedras* shows that there is also a reference to the professional howling of the music teacher.

92. **puer**: the slave to whom Horace was dictating. *Haec* refers to the whole of this satire, and *libello* to the first book; others take *libello* to be used of this satire alone (cf. S. 1. 4. 71), and *haec* to refer to the concluding hit at Demetrius and Tigellius. This conclusion of the satire is imitated by Propertius, 3. 23. 23; *i puer et citus haec aliqua propone columna.*

## BOOK II., SATIRE I.

The second book of satires shows a style in some respects different from that of the first. We find here a more fully developed dramatic form, and sometimes, as in Sat. 5, Horace's personality fades out of view entirely. In the present satire Horace carries the principal part of the discussion, while his adversary suggests the topics Horace wishes to refute. The first book of satires had been published, and had called forth some unfavorable criticism. This criticism the poet wishes to answer at the very beginning of the second volume. The tone of the poem is humorous throughout, and Horace does not seem to be as much concerned about conciliating the critics as when he wrote the fourth and tenth satires of the first book.



Argument: Horace asks advice of the jurisconsult Trebatius as to the course he should pursue in view of the fact that readers criticise him so differently. "Keep quiet," says Trebatius, "or, if you can't do that, at least abandon satire and sing the praises of Augustus Caesar" (1–17). This Horace agrees to do in a modest way, when the fitting occasion is found, and Trebatius approves his decision, again remarking that satire wins only ill will (17–23). Horace proceeds to justify himself and develop his subject. "Every man," he says, "has his hobby, and mine is to mould verses after the manner of Lucilius. He, the great master, made his books his confidant, and entrusted to them all his secrets, so that in them we have a picture of his life. His example I follow, impelled by the warlike blood of my ancestry (24–40). I attack no one undeservedly, but satire shall be my weapon of defense, like the teeth of the wolf, or the horns of the bull" (40–60). Hereupon Trebatius expresses fear lest he bring himself into danger or cut himself off from the favor of the powerful, to which warning Horace again replies by citing the example of Lucilius, who lived on intimate terms with Laelius and Scipio, in spite of his attacks on many leading men of the state. "I, too," he adds, "have my Laelius and Scipio to stand by me" (60–79). Trebatius finally reminds him of the laws against libel and *mala carmina.* "*Mala carmina*," replies Horace, playing on the word, "then I am safe, for Caesar has already pronounced my verses good" (79–86).

There has been considerable discussion as to the date of this satire, some editors placing it as early as 35 B.C. and others as late as 27 B.C. In the absence of positive indications, we shall hardly go widely wrong in assuming that it was written near 30 B.C. In modern literature it has been imitated both by Pope and Boileau.

1. **satura**: this is probably the Horatian spelling, and is etymologically the correct form (*lanx satura*), but gave way to *satira;*

*satyra* arose through a mistaken derivation from Σάτυρος. — **videar**: see App. and note on S. 1. 4. 24. — **ultra legem**: *the proper limit;* cf. *pudor vetet aut operis lex*, A.P. 135.

2. **tendere**: the figure is taken from stringing the bow, while *sine nervis*, *nerveless*, *without strength or force*, refers to muscles of the body; cf. *enervis* and *enervatus*.

4. **deduci**: *to be spun off;* cf. *tenui deducta poemata filo*, Ep. 2. 1. 225. — **Trebati**: the person meant is C. Trebatius Testa, one of the most famous jurists of that time and an intimate friend of Cicero. In the seventh book of ad Fam. there are seventeen letters addressed to him, all written in an easy, bantering style, that attests not only the sincere friendship, but the easy familiarity existing between the great jurist and the eloquent orator. Cicero also dedicated the Topica to him.

5. **quid faciam**: may be considered a direct question by putting a comma after it. — **praescribe** implies that he will follow the advice. The answer of Trebatius is worthy of the oracular style of a lawyer. — **quiescas**: "wipe your pen," Con. — **ne faciam**: "you order me, then, do you, never to make verses again?" This *ne faciam* is an indirect quotation of the command of Trebatius, the verb of commanding being suggested by *inquis*. *Versus facere*, *conficere*, *scribere* are the classical expressions, for which are substituted later *versificor* and *poetor*.

6. **peream male**: cf. S. 1. 9. 38 and 47, and the Greek phrase κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην. The formula *peream si* is entirely without influence on the form of the succeeding statement.

7. **optimum erat**: the indicative is used in clauses of unreality when the idea is one of possibility, necessity, desirability, or propriety. The imperf. tense here refers to both pres. and past time; cf. *poteras*, v. 16; see also A. P. 328, and A. & G. 308, c; G. 599, 3; H. 511, n. 3. — **dormire**: this word seems to suggest, besides its literal meaning, the idea of keeping quiet amid the follies of the world. Trebatius understands it literally, and gives advice that accords with his fondness for swimming and drinking, which is attested by Cic. ad Fam. 7. 10 and 22; to be wet without and soaked within is his remedy for insomnia. — **ter**: this number has a magical power; cf. Od. 1. 28. 37; 3. 22. 3; Ep. 1. 1. 37.



8. **transnanto**: this is the legal imperative.

10. **rapit**: *carries you away;* stronger than *capit*, which Bentley reads. — **aude**: so lofty a theme requires boldness of spirit.

11. **Caesaris**: the title of Augustus was conferred on Octavian the 17th of Jan., 27 B.C., and is not used by Horace in the Satires or Epodes. Its absence from the first book of the Odes is only accidental.

12. **praemia**: indirect compensation was the lawyer's paradise (cf. Ep. 2. 2. 38), but Horace resists even this temptation. — **pater**: a title of honor and respect used often by Horace in addressing both men and gods; cf. v. 60, *puer*. Trebatius was about 25 years older than Horace.

13. The *pilum* was the characteristic weapon of the Roman legionary. At the time of Polybius, it "had usually a square, wooden shaft, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. On one side was a groove extending half the length of the shaft to receive the iron. This latter was also $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. The length of the entire weapon appears to have been $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and the weight can hardly have been less than 11 pounds." Judson, Caesar's Army, p. 34. In the time of the empire the weapon was longer, more comely, and probably, lighter.

14. Horace individualizes the general idea of war by the two most formidable enemies of Rome, not necessarily referring to any special campaigns of Augustus. — **fracta cuspide** characterizes the defeat of the Gauls; *labentis equo*, that of the Parthians.

15. **describit**: see App.

16. You can undertake the peaceful, even if you are insufficient for the warlike side of his exploits; *si non potes gesta Caesaris scribere, at potes iustitiam et fortitudinem, ut Lucilius Scipioni fecit*, Porph.

17. **Scipiadam**: neither *Scipio* (except in nom. or voc.) nor the regular patronymic *Scipionides* fits the hexameter; hence this irregular form is used for *Scipionem* by Lucilius, Lucretius, Horace, and Vergil. The person meant was Scipio Africanus Minor. — **sapiens**: cf. *Ennius sapiens*, Ep. 2. 1. 50. Trebatius recommends first of all that Horace cease writing; then, as that cannot be, that instead of satire, he devote himself to an epic on Caesar's deeds, and if he must imitate Lucilius, that he do this in his relation

to Scipio, and sing the praises of Augustus. This theme Horace does not reject, and promises to make the attempt when the fit occasion offers itself. — **haud mihi dero**: cf. S. 1. 9. 56.

18. **dextro tempore**: the opposite is *laevo tempore*, S. 2. 4. 4. — **Flacci**: more modest than *mea;* we make out Horace's name in full from this passage and from S. 2. 6. 37 and Ep. 1. 14. 5.

20. **recalcitrat**: Bentley read *recalcitret* to make a more symmetrical condition; but we often find a protasis in the subjunctive and the apodosis in the fut. ind., for which the pres. ind. is used here with still more vividness. The ancients used comparisons between men and animals more frequently than the moderns; cf. *Epicuri de grege porcum*, Ep. 1. 4. 16.

21. **tristi**: *mordaci et satirico*, Schol. Cruq. The verses are characterized by their effect.

22. **Pantolabum**: *πᾶν λαβεῖν, quia a multis pecuniam mutuam erogabat Pantolabus est cognominatus*, Porph. — **Nomentanum**: see on S. 1. 1. 102. This line is a repetition of S. 1. 8. 11.

23. For the thought, cf. S. 1. 4. 24–33. — **cum**: *whereupon;* see Harper's Lex. s. v. E. 5. a, and S. 1. 10. 55.

24. Horace proceeds to justify his satirical turn on the ground that this is his hobby, and that he is not malevolent. — **Milonius**: unknown even to the scholiasts. The name occurs C. I. L. VIII., 5318. — **saltat**: see on S. 1. 9. 24. — **icto**: cf. *οἰνοπλῆγι*.

25. The double vision of intoxication is a touch of nature that proves the moderns true children of the ancients; cf. Juv. 6. 304; Petron. 64, *et sane iam lucernae mihi plures videbantur ardere;* also Eur. Bacch. 918.

26. Even twin brothers may differ in their tastes; cf. Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα, Il. Γ 237.

27. **quot capitum**, etc.: cf. *quot homines, tot sententiae*, Ter. Phorm. 3. 3. 14.

28. **claudere verba**: cf. S. 1. 10. 59.

29. **nostrum melioris**: thus silencing the criticism of Trebatius. Horace now gives a brief characteristic of Lucilius's poetry, showing how it sprung from his inner nature.

30. According to Porphyrio, this sentiment is borrowed from Aristoxenus: *ille enim in suis scriptis ostendit Sapphonem et Alcaeum volumina sua loco sodalium habuisse.* Palmer quotes Southey's comment on his books: —



"My never failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day."

31. **cesserat**: see App. *arcana* expresses the inner life; *si male cesserat . . . si bene*, the externals of fortune.

33. Votive tablets, representing the scene of some disaster, as a shipwreck, from which the subject had escaped, were often set up in some temple or public place; cf. Od. 1. 5. 13; A. P. 20.

34. **vita senis**: according to Jerome's chronology (see on S. 1. 4. 6), Lucilius was only 46 years old when he died, and so could not be called *senex.* This would have to be understood as used with reference to the age in which he lived, which was already ancient in Horace's eyes. On the other hand, Haupt has shown that Jerome very probably was in error as to the year of Lucilius's birth, mistaking the consuls of the year 148 B.C., Sp. Postumius Albinus and L. Calpurnius Piso, for those of 180 B.C., A. Postumius Albinus and C. Calpurnius Piso. This latter date makes Lucilius to have reached the age of 78 years, so that we can take *senex* in its natural sense; see further on v. 73. Horace attributes his bent toward satire to the warlike training of the race from which he sprung. — **anceps**: some editors regard it as masc., and cite Liv. 31. 12, *in Sabinis incertus infans masculus an femina esset.* Kiessling and others regard it as neut., like Liv. 31. 41, *clauserant portas, incertum vi an voluntate;* cf. Flor. 2. 14, *regnum Andriscus invaserat, dubium liber an servus.*

35. Venusia was taken from the Samnites in the third Samnite war, and in order to strengthen the frontier, ward off the encroachments of such Greek cities as Tarentum, and keep Apulia and Lucania faithful allies of Rome, the Romans sent out in 291 B.C. a colony of 20,000.

37. **quo ne**: an unusual expression, which seems to be used for *ut eo ne*, where *eo* repeats the idea in *ad hoc:* "that by this means," etc. — **per vacuum**: *through unoccupied territory. Romano* is masculine, used collectively, as *Venusinus* above, and is dative after *incurreret.*

38. **quod** = *aliquod.*

39. **sed**: in contrast with the aggressive nature of Lucilius (*sequor hunc*) and the warlike spirit of his ancestors. — **stilus**: the *stilus* was, without exaggeration, a formidable weapon. Suetonius

tells us that Caesar pierced the arm of the conspirator Casca with his *graphium*. — **ultro**: not simply *unprovoked*, but rather *without just cause*.

41. **quem** refers to *ensis;* cf. *ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens infremuit rubet auditor*, Juv. 1. 165.

42. **tutus**: *as long as I am safe*, etc.

43. **ut pereat**: the use of the optative in sentences introduced by *ut* is not very common; cf. *ut ea res mihi collegaeque meo bene et feliciter eveniat*, Liv. 40. 46. The thought is taken from Callimachus, Blomf., p. 321: Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὡς Χαλύβων πᾶν ἀπόλοιτο γένος τηλόθεν ἀντέλλοντα κακὸν φυτὸν οἵ μιν ἔφηναν; similarly Catull. 66. 48: *Iuppiter, ut Chalybum omne genus pereat.*

44. "But he who stirs me up in spite of my warning, 'Hands off!' will smart for it, and have his name bandied about through the whole city."

47. Every one defends himself with his own weapon, and mine is satire. — **Cervius**: some unknown informer, not to be identified with the one mentioned S. 2. 6. 77. — **urnam**: either the urn from which the names of the jurymen were drawn forth, or the one into which their vote was finally put; in either case it is equal to *iudicium*.

48. Canidia is bitterly attacked by Horace in S. 1. 8 and Epod. 5 and 17. Porphyrio says her real name was Gratidia, and that she was a Neapolitan perfume seller, *unguentaria*. The cause of Horace's enmity to her is not known. — **Albuci venenum**: Albucius was hardly so clever a criminal as to be able to give Canidia a new prescription; more likely he was some victim of her poisoned cup.

49. Turius's weapon is false judgment. — **grande malum**: cf. *dabo μέγα κακόν*, Plaut. Cas. 729.

50. **ut**: introduces an indirect question. Heindorf pronounces this the bitterest passage in Horace's satires, since nature is made the excuse for Scaeva's crime.

53. **Scaevae**: not the one to whom is addressed Ep. 1. 17, but a cowardly wretch who poisoned his mother because she was living too long. For full illustration of this sentiment, cf. Mayor's Juv. 14. 250. — **vivacem**: the meaning *vivacious* was later than the one here found.



54. **mirum ut**: *ut* is comparative; "a marvel truly, as is the fact that," etc.

55. **calce**: *cornu* would have been more appropriate for the ox; *calx* anticipates the mention of the horse.

56. **mala cicuta**: in contrast with *pia dextera*.

58. Death is winged, quick in motion, and the accompanying color is black; cf. Od. 2. 3. 16, *fila atra*.

60. **color**: "whate'er my life's complexion," Con. The idea is suggested by the use of *candidus* and *ater* to denote good and ill fortune. — **ut sis vitalis**: Horace has in mind, it would seem, Thetis's lament over Achilles, Σ 95: ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι οἷ' ἀγορεύεις. The meaning is best explained by the words immediately following.

61. **maiorum**: equal to *potentiorum*, *grandees;* cf. Ep. 1. 17. 2.

62. **frigore feriat**: the violence and suddenness of the freezing is indicated by *feriat;* cf. *Montanus Julius tolerabilis poeta et amicitia Tiberii notus et frigore*, Sen. Ep. 122. 11. Horace answers this threat by citing the example of Lucilius.

64. **detrahere et pellem**: cf. Ep. 1. 16. 45, *introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora*. Horace probably has in mind the fable of the ape (Lucian, Philopseud. 5) or ass (Lucian, Fugitiv. 13) clothed in the lion's skin; this fable may have been used by Lucilius.

65. **cederet**: the use of the simple verb in a literal sense for *incedo* belongs to the *sermo cotidianus;* cf. Plaut. Cas. 446; Pseud. 308; and Sall. Jug. 31. 10, *incedunt per ora vestra magnifici.* — **Laelius**: C. Laelius Sapiens, the patron of Terence and friend of the younger Scipio, was elected consul 140 B.C.; he is the chief speaker in Cicero, de Am., and appears also in the de Rep. and de Sen. — **et qui**: see App.

66. Reference is made to P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor, born about 185 B.C. and died 129 B.C. Cf. Od. 4. 8. 18, where the elder Africanus is spoken of: *qui domita nomen ab Africa lucratus rediit.*

67. **ingenio**: *wit, love of satire.* — **offensi**: supply *sunt*, as with *soliti*, v. 74. — **Metello**: Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, Cos. 143, Cens. 131 B.C., was a political opponent of Scipio; *fuit inter P. Africanum et Q. Metellum sine acerbitate dissensio*, Cic. de Off. 1. 25. 87. On the sudden death of Africanus, he said to his sons:

*ite, filii, celebrate obsequias; nunquam civis maioris funus vibebitis*, Plin. H. N. 7. 44. 144.

68. **Lupo**: L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, Cos. 156, Cens. 147 B.C. He was a favorite victim of Lucilius, who loved to crunch his bones; *secuit Lucilius urbem, te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis*, Pers. 1. 114. Translate, *or because Lupus was drenched with a flood of abusive satire.*

69. **primores**: those already mentioned and others, as Opimius, Metellus Caprarius, Mucius Scaevola. — **arripuit**: dragged to judgment; cf. S. 2. 3. 224. — **tributim**: i.e. sparing none, but going through the whole list. The final number of tribes, in which all the citizens were enrolled, was completed 241 B.C.

70. **aequus**: not *just*, but *kind;* cf. Od. 3. 18. 4. "To virtue only and her friends a friend," Pope.

71. **scaena**: public life is the stage from which the actors love to retire to the privacy of the country.

72. **virtus Scipiadae**: such circumlocutions are common in the poets from Homer down: *the valiant Scipio and the wise and gentle Laelius;* cf. Od. 3. 21. 11, *Catonis virtus.*

73. **nugari . . . ludere**: Schol. Cruq. remarks on this: *Scipio Africanus et Laelius feruntur tam fuisse familiares et amici Lucilio, ut quodam tempore Laelio circum lectos triclinii fugienti Lucilius superveniens eum obtorta mappa quasi feriturus sequeretur;* the traditional childlike intimacy between the two is also attested by Crassus in Cic. de Or. 2. 6. 22. — **discincti**: the toga had been laid aside and the girdle removed from their loins, so that the tunic hung low towards their feet; cf. *altius praecinctis*, S. 1. 5. 6; *tunicis solutis*, Sen. Ep. 114. 6. The freedom of association here depicted between Lucilius and Africanus, and the familiarity of Scipio with his friends, cannot be explained if we accept Jerome's date for the birth of Lucilius; for in that case he would have been a youth of about twenty when Scipio died. This lends additional weight to Haupt's conjecture; see on v. 34.

75. **censum**: *fortune.* Lucilius was an *eques*, but that does not mean that he had a fortune of 400,000 sesterces; see on Ep. 1. 1. 58. Porphyrio says he was the grand-uncle of Pompey the Great.

77. **fragili . . . offendet solido**: Horace is thinking of cracking nuts, or eating the bread of Canusium (S. 1. 5. 91), or there may be an allusion to the fable of the viper and the file. The adjectives are neut. and in the dat. case.



79. **diffingere**: see App.

80. **ut . . . caveas** is a final clause, which depends not directly on *ius est*, but gives the purpose of Trebatius in making that statement. The connexion can be made plainer in English by supplying "*remember*" before v. 82. Cf. Ep. 1. 1. 13; S. 2. 2. 112. — **negoti incutiat tibi**: *may get you into business.*

81. **incutiat** depends on *caveas.* — **sanctarum**: especially in the eyes of the lawyer.

82. **mala . . . carmina**: this expression was taken from the XII tables, and included both songs of incantation and abuse; cf. *nostrae XII tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt, si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri*, Cic. de Rep. 4. 10. 12. This provision had long since disappeared, but a law of Sulla's opened the way for civil suit in case of libel; cf. Ulpian, Dig. XLVII. 10. 5: *si quis librum ad infamiam alicuius pertinentem scripserit, composuerit, ediderit, dolove malo fecerit . . . uti de ea re agere liceret.* Hence the appropriateness of the expression *ius iudiciumque*, where *ius* refers to the hearing before the Praetor (*in iure*), and *iudicium* to the final decision by the judges (*in iudicio*). — **condiderit**: for the quantity of the final syllable, see on S. 1. 4. 82.

83. "Ill verses? Ay, I grant you; but suppose Caesar should think them good (and Caesar knows)," Con. Horace plays on the meaning of *mala*, and when he comes to *bona*, uses it in a purely æsthetic sense.

86. **solventur risu tabulae**: the sense of this passage is plain, but the exact reference and meaning of *tabulae* is much disputed. Some, as Matthiae and Orelli, interpret it to mean *tabellae iudiciariae*, the tickets with which the judges voted; that is to say, *sententiae iudicum mitiores, leniores fient risu.* Others, as Schütz, take *tabulae* to mean the XII tables: "the very statutes will melt with laughter." Others, as Zeune and Hermann, refer *tabulae* to the satires of Horace, which, when summoned into court for examination, are opened and read only with laughter. Palmer takes *tabulae* to mean "*indictment*," "the indictment will be

laughed out of court," which makes good sense, but which cannot be defended by any similar use of the word elsewhere. Others, as Heindorf, take *tabulae* as *subsellia iudicum*, or as Kiessling, "the boards of the tribunal on which the *subsellia* were placed." The expression is then somewhat extravagant, but may be paralleled by Juv. 7. 86, *cum fregit subsellia versu*. Probably best of all is the interpretation of L. Müller: "the laws will be abolished (i.e. declared void in this case) with a laugh, and you will go free"; *tabulae* is used for *leges*, as in Ep. 2. 1. 23, and *solvere* for *dissolvere*.

## SATIRE V.

Roman energy, which expressed itself nationally in the extension of the empire, was turned in private life into commercial enterprise. So came wealth, ease, luxury, with their attendant corruption and increase of gain by fair as well as foul means. Towards the end of the republic, marriage became less common, and childlessness was considered a blessing. The fortunes held by such persons were bestowed on favorites, and the possessors of such fortunes were courted on every hand. Even in Cicero's time such things were common, for he says, Parad. 5. 2. 39: *hereditatis spes quid iniquitatis non suscipit? quem nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat? loquitur ad voluntatem; quicquid denuntiatum est, facit; adsectatur, adsidet, munerat.* Horace reckons fortune-seeking as a regular profession (Ep. 1. 1. 77), and the evil had increased many-fold by the time of Nero. Seneca, de Benef. 6. 38, speaks of *Arruntium et Haterium et ceteros qui captandorum testamentorum artem professi sunt.* Tacitus, Germ. 20, mentions as a special virtue of the Germans, *nec ulla orbitatis pretia.* Petronius says (116) that the whole population of Cremona consisted of but two classes, — fortune-hunters and their prey (*aut captantur aut captant*); and parents refused to acknowledge their children because of the greater honor paid the childless. This vice is the theme of the present satire, and it is presented in a way both humorous and striking.

The dialogue is carried on between Tiresias and Ulysses, who had descended into Hades to consult the shade of the seer. Having learned of his destined return home, Ulysses asks him how he is to repair his broken fortunes, seeing that family and honor will avail him nothing without property (1–10). Tiresias initiates him into the secrets of legacy-hunting. By presents, by personal attendance and devotion he is to cultivate the rich and childless (10–40), yet masking his designs by occasional attention to him who has a son, especially if that son be weak and destined not to live long (40–50). He is further cautioned against being too eager or curious as to the result, and warned by a prophetic story (51–69). The individual tastes and preferences of each one must be consulted and the means adapted accordingly (70–98). Even when the death of the victim brings the desired reward, the mask must not be thrown off, but the hook must be baited anew for another catch (99–110).



While the satirical element is especially strong in this satire, its quaint humor is no less remarkable. In form it is peculiar, using, as it does, conversations of the dead to satirize the living. The probability is very strong that such a device was employed by Menippus of Gadara, the originator of the species of literature called Saturae Menippeae; and Fritsche thinks it likely that Horace took the idea of this satire from Menippus himself. Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead" are still famous. The date of the satire is fixed by the allusion to Augustus in vv. 62 and 63, which hardly suits any time before the battle of Actium. Hence we put it in 30 B.C.

1. **hoc quoque**: this continues naturally the conversation in Od. λ 139 ff., where Tiresias had told Ulysses that he would at last return home after many trials and dangers. Ovid begins the second book of his Amores with *hoc quoque composui.* — **petenti**: sc. *responsum;* cf. Carm. Saec. 55.

3. **quid rides**: this is the laugh of superior wisdom at the weakness of Ulysses's heart, which, as soon as one blessing is obtained, covets another. — **doloso**: *to one so shrewd;* as if he were speaking of a third party; cf. v. 23, *astutus*, and the Hm. epithet πολυμήχανος.

4. **non satis est**: seeing that he would not give up his return home in exchange for immortality in Calypso's isle. — **Penatis**:

the Roman coloring begins, and the reader is dropped from the heights of the Greek epic to the filthy streets of the world's capital.

5. **nulli . . . mentite**: cf. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 208, ᾧ τάληθὲς ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώπων μόνῳ.

6. **redeam**: in indirect questions depending on the pres. ind. as here, the future ind. is usually transferred to the pres. subj. of the periphrastic conjugation, unless the verb is one that by its meaning sufficiently refers to the future, as *posse* or *velle* or *queo* (v. 10); here, therefore, we should translate, *am returning;* cf. A. & G. 334, a; G. 514; H. 496, n. 2.

7. **apotheca**: *wine cellar* or *storeroom*. When Telemachus is preparing for his voyage in search of Ulysses, he descends to his father's chamber, where, amid other treasures,

> "Many a cask with seasoned nectar filled,
> The grape's pure juice divine, beside the wall
> Stood waiting, orderly arranged."

Among the Romans, the *apotheca* was generally placed in the upper part of the house, above the *fumarium*, or drying-room; cf. Colum. 1. 6. They had besides cellars, *cellae vinariae*, situated in cool localities, possibly in the basements, as with us. The word *apotheca* has been corrupted into the Ital. *bottega* and the French *boutique*. Harper's Lex. is wrong in referring to this same source the Eng. *booth*, Germ. *Bude*.

8. **re**: *money*, as vv. 12 and 45; Ep. 1. 1. 66; compare the constant tendency to give a mercenary turn to words of other origin, as seen in the history of such words as *goods*, *property*, *possessions*, *means*. — **vilior alga**: proverbial, and doubly appropriate to the seafaring Ulysses; cf. Verg. Ecl. 7. 42; Od. 3. 17. 10.

9. **quando**: equal to *quandoquidem*. — **missis . . . ambagibus**: "since, in plain terms, 'tis poverty you fear," Con.

10. Tiresias begins with special examples, adding the general principle later, v. 23 ff. — **turdus**: the thrush, or fieldfare, was considered a great delicacy. Martial, 13, 92, reckons it the first among birds, just as the hare is the first among quadrupeds, and Persius, 6. 24, uses the fem. *turdarum*, because, as the Schol. informs us, the epicures of that day could tell the sex by the taste; see Gildersleeve's note ad loc.



11. **privum**: predicate with *dabitur, shall be given you as your own*. — **devolet**: *let it fly away*.

12. **nitet** contains the idea both of abundance and beauty: "where waxes a great fortune, and the master wanes."

13. **honores**: *choice fruits;* in Od. 1. 17. 16 it refers especially to flowers.

14. The *Lar familiaris* was the protecting deity of the home, to whom the first fruits were due.

15. **sine gente**: *a freedman*.

17. **comes exterior**: the same conception as in *latus tegere*, v. 18, or *latus claudere*, Juv. 3. 131, which the scholiast explains by *in sinistra ambulare*. The right hand carried the weapons and could defend that side, but the left side was more in need of protection.

18. **utne tegam**: "the idea of my acting as escort for the filthy Dama!" This was a typical slave name; cf. S. 1. 6. 38; 2. 7. 54. For *utne*, see on S. 1. 10. 21. — **Troiae**: *before Troy*.

19. **melioribus**: dat. after *certans*, like the Greek μάχεσθαι; cf. Epod. 2. 20.

20. **fortem**: τλήμονα. — **hoc**: *this indignity*.

21. **protinus**: "go on and tell me," etc.

22. **ruam**: *ruo* here unites the meaning of *eruo* and *corruo*, *rake together;* thus it seems to have been used by Lucil. 901 L.: *ruis huc et colligis omnia furtim*.

23. **captes**: this was the usual word for legacy-hunting, and those who followed that profession were called *captatores*. It also very naturally introduces the figure of fishing which is used just a moment later. Petronius used a new word, *heredipeta*.

25. **praeroso hamo**: "making away with the bait"; cf. *praerodere digitos*, Plaut. Ps. 884. This the old miser would accomplish by accepting his presents, yet failing to remember him in his will. Lucian, dial. mort. 6. 4, tells how "Terpsion, a man of thirty, had sent many costly presents to Thukritos, an old man past ninety, with three teeth in his head, who seemed to have one foot already in his coffin." Terpsion complains to Pluto: "After swallowing so large a bait of mine, the day before yesterday he attended my funeral and crowed over me." See Mayor on Juv. 12. 123.

26. **artem inlusus omittas**: *disheartened, quit the business; inlusus* is, more properly, "*made a fool of.*"

27. **foro**: abl. of place without a preposition, used also S. 1. 5. 87; 1. 6. 43; 1. 5. 99; 1. 10. 39. — **res** is equal to *lis*, as S. 1. 9. 41; the cognate acc. is made the subject of the pass.; cf. S. 2. 1. 49. — **olim** = *aliquando*.

29. **qui . . . vocet** is a consecutive clause defining *improbus*. In daring to drag his righteous neighbor to law without just cause is seen his *improbitas*.

32. **Quinte . . . Publi**: thus he addresses the childless old man whose case he undertakes. The use of the praenomen was a mark of intimacy, and being a distinctive sign of freemen is especially grateful to the ears of the old man who had come up out of bondage. — **molles**: *tender, attentive, sensitive;* cf. *mollior . . . inula auricula*, Catull. 25. 2; *teneras . . . auriculas*, Pers. 1. 107.

34. **ius anceps**: *the doubtful points of the law;* cf. *vafri inscitia iuris*, S. 2. 2. 131. The expression contains a gentle hint that he is well aware on which side justice lies, but is on that account all the better able to assist him.

35. **oculos**: the dearest of human possessions; cf. Catull. 14. 1, *ni te plus oculis meis amarem.*

36. **contemptum pauperet**: equal to *contemnat et pauperet;* chiastically repeated in *perdas* and *sis iocus. Paupero*, like *cassa nuce*, belongs to the language of ordinary life. — **cassa nuce**: *an empty nut*, i.e. one which when broken open is found to be without a kernel. The prevailing spelling of the Mss. is *quassa*, but this may have arisen from a supposed connexion with *quatio*.

37. **sis iocus**: "the laughing-stock of the spectators."

38. **pelliculam curare**: *nurse his hide;* cf. *cutem curare*, Ep. 1. 2. 29; 1. 4. 15. — **cognitor**: the *cognitor* took charge of the case for another, standing completely in his stead; his acts were binding on the original party, while the *procurator* was an agent who had to give surety that the party represented would abide by his acts; cf. Gaius 4. 97.

39. **persta atque obdura**, etc.: "stick it out, in spite of summer's cold or winter's heat." — **rubra Canicula**: the ruddy dog-star, which presides over the dog-days, the time of greatest heat; cf. Sen. Q. N. 1. 1. 7, *in caelo quoque non unus adparet color rerum, sed acrior sit caniculae rubor, Martis remissior.* The color of Sirius is now white, with a touch of green.



40. **infantis statuas**: this seems to mean nothing more than *dumb statues*, but the epithet *infantis* is certainly a most awkward stroke, in spite of *infans pudor*, S. 1. 6. 57, and *statua taciturnior*, Ep. 2. 2. 83. It is quite likely that in this expression, as well as in the following verse, Horace is quoting some poetical monstrosity of M. Furius Bibaculus. Palmer conjectures that Furius's verse may have run, *infantis statuas iam rubra canicula findit.* The allusion is to heat so intense that it bursts even the statues, which were made of bronze, or, more likely still, of wood, as was the case with the one of Priapus, S. 1. 8. 1. — **pingui tentus omaso**: *stuffed with fat tripe;* alluding not necessarily to the corpulence, but certainly to the gluttony and vile fare of Furius; cf. Ep. 1. 15. 35. The word *omasum* is said by Philox. Gloss. to be of Celtic origin, as is also our word *tripe*.

41. For Furius, see on S. 1. 10. 36. The verse of his which Horace here parodies is cited by Quintilian, 8. 6. 17, as an example of *translationes durae, id est a longinqua similitudine ductae;* the whole verse read as follows: *Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes.* Instead of Jupiter, Horace lets Furius do his own sputtering, and heightens the ridiculousness of the situation by making it the consequence of an overfull stomach.

42. **stantem prope tangens**: *nudging his neighbor in the crowd.*

43. **amicis aptus**: cf. *solibus aptum*, Ep. 1. 20. 24. — **acer**: *zealous.*

44. **adnabunt thynni**: "in flow the tunnies, and your fish-ponds swell," Con. The *thynni* are well selected, as they go in shoals; *cetaria* are said to be places arranged for catching, or, according to Schol. Cruq., for salting the fish.

45. **si cui**, etc.: lest such devotion to the childless make his motives plain, Tiresias advises him to pay court to one who has a son, especially if that son be in bad health: *if any one has a sickly son growing up as heir prospective to a large fortune.*

46. **sublatus**: the new-born child was laid by the *obstetrix* at the feet of the father, and if he raised it from the ground (*sustulit, suscepit*), was acknowledged as his child, and reared. —

**aletur** emphasizes the care that has to be taken with a son, *male validus*.

47. **nudet**: *betray you.* — **leniter**: *gently, cautiously, slyly.*

48. **adrepe officiosus**: "worm your way by your attentions," Palmer. The *ut*-cl. is best taken as explanatory of *spem;* cf. Cic. Lael. 19. 68. — **secundus heres** is one who was entered in the will as a substitute, in case the first heir should not enter into the inheritance.

50. **in vacuum venias**: in consequence of his being enrolled as second heir, so that the first *et*-clause is logically subordinate to the second. — **Orco**: for the dative, cf. Od. 1. 28. 10; 1. 28. 18, and the Hm. Ἄιδι προϊάψαι.

51. Another warning not to expose his covetous designs. — **Qui . . . cumque**: tmesis, as in Od. 1. 9. 14, equal to *si quis*.

53. **limis**: sc. *oculis*, "yet not without stealing a sidelong glance"; cf. Ter. Eun. 601. Wills were generally written on waxen tablets, which were then fastened together. The first of these contained in the first line the name of the testator, followed in the second by the name of the heir, who might inherit all alone (*solus, heres ex asse*), or together with others.

55. **plerumque**, etc.: *often a quinquevir turned scribe. Recoctus* does not mean here *rejuvenated*, but simply changed from one form of life to another. Its explanation is to be found in the story of Medea's rejuvenating Aeson, father of Jason, by cutting him to pieces and boiling his limbs in a cauldron. The idea is that often the victim will see through the wiles of the *captator*, and get the best of him. This Tiresias expresses by foretelling an incident of that kind which was doubtless familiar to Horace and his readers.

56. **scriba**: for the office of *scriba*, see on S. 1. 4. 35. The *quinqueviri* were subordinate police magistrates, who are mentioned as low down in the scale of officers by Cic. Acad. pr. 2. 44. 136. Besides these there were a number of other boards appointed on special occasions, consisting of five men, whose members would be called *quinqueviri*, as *Vviri coloniae deducendae, agro dividendo*, etc.; but the first office mentioned must be the one here referred to. — **corvum . . . hiantem**: alluding to the Aesopian fable of the fox and the crow, Phaedr. Fab. 1. 13.



58. **prudens** expresses the opposite of *furis*.

59. **Laertiade**: Greek form, as *Atride*, Ep. 1. 7. 43; cf. Hm. λ 92. In *quicquid . . . non* the irony is too apparent to be reasoned away; it is, as Oesterlen says, "eine köstliche Parodie der Seherkunst," and is cited by Boethius, Consol. 5. 3, as an example of a *ridiculum vaticinium*.

60. **donat**: the universal present.

62. **Tempore, quo**: "Oracles often began by fixing the date by a circumlocution," Palmer. — **iuvenis**: Octavianus, born 63 B.C. was now about 33 years old. — **ab alto demissum**: *alto* has here both the idea of antiquity and respectability; cf. *Caesarem altum*, Od. 3. 4. 37; also Verg. Aen. 6. 500, *genus alto a sanguine Teucri;* and Aen. 1. 288, *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo*.

64. **forti**: *gallant.* — **procera**: *stately.* Nasica had borrowed money, among others, from Coranus himself, a rich old *caelebs*, and seeks to propitiate him, and probably prepare the way for a settlement of his obligations, by giving him his daughter in marriage. Coranus accepts the gift, but leaves his thrifty father-in-law not a cent.

65. **metuentis**: *metuo* is regularly construed with the inf. when it has the sense of *nolo*, but here the idea seems rather to be, "fearing lest he have to pay the whole." — **soldum**: for such syncopated forms, cf. *soldo*, S. 1. 2. 113; *caldior*, S. 1. 4. 53; *puertia*, Od. 1. 36. 8; *valdius*, Ep. 1. 9. 6, and A. P. 321; *periclum*, S. 1. 2. 40; 2. 7. 73; 2. 8. 57; *vincla*, Ep. 1. 7. 67; see Introduction, p. xv.

66. **tabula**: *his will.*

67. **multum**: equal to *saepe*, as Od. 1. 25. 5; Ep. 1. 3. 15; A. P. 357.

69. **praeter**: an adv. equal to *praeterquam*, though occasionally in Lat. an infinitive is governed by a preposition; cf. Cic. de Fin. 2. 13. 43, *inter optime valere et gravissime aegrotare nihil interesse.* — **plorare**: cf. S. 1. 10. 91. This is left him, because nothing is left. — **suis**: his daughter was also left unprovided for.

70. **ad haec**: like *praeterea*, v. 45. — **mulier . . . dolosa**: a *liberta* as *amica;* cf. S. 1. 1. 99. The word *mulier* has replaced in Latin the Indo-Eur. term for *woman*, which is seen in Sk. *gani*, Greek γυνή, Gothic *qens*, and Eng. *queen*.

71. **delirum**: derived from *lira*, the ridge betwen the furrows; *itaque sicuti boves cum se a recto actu operis detorserint delirare dicuntur, sic qui a recta via vitae ad pravum declinant, per similitudinem translationis item delirare existimantur*, Varro, Wilm. fr. 50. — **temperet**: equal to *regat;* cf. Od. 1. 8. 6.

73. **vincit**: equal to *praestat*, and is selected with reference to the following figure, *ipsum expugnare caput.*

74. The special case of the *senex delirus* is abandoned, and the thought becomes more general, going back in the precepts now given to the sentiment of v. 45 ff. — **vecors** characterizes one with lack of judgment and taste; cf. Mart. 12. 40, *mentiris: credo; recitas mala carmina: laudo.*

76. **facilis**: *kindly.* — **potiori**: equal to *utpote potiori, as to your superior.* — **putasne . . . poterit**: a parataxis common after such verbs in conversational expressions; cf. *censen hodie despondebit eam mihi, quaeso?* Plaut. Rud. 1269. Ulysses's question is not one of indignation, but of doubt.

79. **enim**: "*yes, for,*" etc.

81. **sic**: *under such conditions.* — **quae**: equal to *at ea.* — **uno**: no fool like an old fool; *turpe senilis amor*, Ov. Am. 1. 9. 4. One such is more profitable than all the younger suitors.

83. **ut canis**, etc.: adaptation of a Greek proverb: *οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα τῆς τέχνης ἐπιλήσεται*, Alciphron, 3. 47; *χαλεπὸν χορίῳ κύνα γεῦσαι*, Theocr. 10. 11.

84. The story of Nasica and Coranus was given in the form of a prophecy; now Tiresias adds one that occurred during his lifetime at Thebes. Gessner concludes that the case did not occur at Rome, because the injunction imposed would have been contrary to law; cf. Dig. 28. 7. 9, *condiciones quae contra bonos mores inseruntur remittendae sunt;* but the incident is too ridiculous to be anything more than a caricature.

85. **ex testamento . . . elata**: equal to *testamento sic se efferri iussit.* — **elata**: cf. *ἐκφέρειν, ἐκφορά.*

87. **si posset** depends on a verb of trying which is suggested by *sic est elata.* This construction of *si* is very common in the historians after verbs of motion; as, *Hercules pergit ad speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent*, Liv. 1. 7. As she had never been able to give him the slip while alive, she determines to make one more trial after death. Petronius (141) tells of legacies left on still harder terms; e.g. *omnes qui in testamento meo legata habent praeter libertos meos, hac condicione percipient quae dedi, si corpus meum in partes conciderint et astante populo comederint.*



89. Avoid extremes (*μηδὲν ἄγαν*), both in speech and action. — **desis operae**: dat., as S. 1. 9. 56. The abl. *opera*, which some editors conjecture here, is unnecessary, though perhaps better Latin; cf. Cic. ad. Fam. 1. 9. 17; Caes. ap. Gell. 13. 3. 5.

90. **difficilem et morosum**: compare the common faults of old men, as cited by Cic. de Sen. 65, *at sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes.* — **ultra**: sc. *quam satis est.*

91. **non etiam sileas**: the subj. here and Ep. 1. 18. 72 may be, as Kiessling says, potential, but in practical force it must have been felt as equal to the imperative; see Kühner, Lat. Gr. II. 147 ff. — **Davus**, etc.: *play the Davus of comedy;* see on S. 1. 10. 40.

92. **capite obstipo**: *with drooping head.* Persius uses the same expression, 3. 80. — **multum** belongs to *similis;* cf. *multum celer*, S. 2. 3. 47; *multum dissimilis*, Ep. 1. 10. 3.

93. **obsequio grassare**: *make your advances with servile civility.* — **si increbruit**: *if the wind blows stronger.*

94. **velet carum caput**: men wore usually no covering for the head on the streets. Sometimes a corner of the toga was drawn up so as to afford protection from the weather. A kind of hood (*cucullus*) was also in use, generally fastened to the *lacerna* (S. 2. 7. 55), or cloak. The *pilleus* was a high felt hat, the *petasus* broad-brimmed. Augustus wore one of the latter (Suet. 82). See Becker's Gallus, III. p. 223.

95. **aurem substringe**: *gather up your ear*, i.e. with your hand, that you may the better hear. To "prick up the ear" is *aurem arrigere* or *erigere.*

96. **importunus**: *insatiate, worrying.* "It is near to *importunate*, with this difference, that *importunate* denotes repeated asking for the same thing that has been denied, while *importunus* denotes asking for more of a thing than has been obtained," Palmer. — **ohe iam**: the fuller form adds *satis est*, as S. 1. 5. 12.

98. **tumidis**: because they have that effect; *tumidum reddunt.*

99. **levarit**: *when he shall have released you*, i.e. by dying.

100. **certum vigilans**: *keenly watchful, wide awake;* not in dreams nor half asleep; cf. Ov. Her. 10. 9, *incertum vigilans.* — **sit**: see App.

101. **ergo**: *and so then;* cf. *ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor urget*, Od. 1. 24. 5. Many a *spurcus Dama* (v. 18) of life becomes *Dama sodalis, fortis et fidelis* at death.

102. **fortem . . . fidelem**: the peculiarity of this idiom is lost when we supply a definite verb, as *quaeram, petam, parabo*, etc. It is the stress of emotion that leaves the expression vague; cf. *unde mihi lapidem*, S. 2. 7. 112; *quo mihi fortunam*, Ep. 1. 5. 12.

103. **sparge subinde**: "scatter your wailings like flowers round the tomb." — **est**: taken by most editors in the sense of *licet*, ἔστιν, ἔξεστιν, as S. 1. 2. 79, 101; but Kiessling interprets it a little differently, taking it as equal to *aliquid est*, "it is some advantage," for which he cites Ep. 1. 1. 32, *est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.*

108. **ex parte tua**: sc. *hereditatis.*

109. To avoid possible difficulties, inheritances were usually given away through the form of a sale, on payment of a sestertius; cf. Gaius, 2. 252, *olim in usu erat ei, cui restituebatur hereditas nummo uno eam hereditatem dicis causa venire.* — **addicere**: this is the term used of auctioneers, "to knock down," but also employed, as here, of a private sale.

110. **imperiosa**: *dread;* ἐπαινῆ Περσεφόνεια. She is called *saeva*, Od. 1. 28. 20. — **vive valeque**: cf. *vive vale*, Ep. 1. 6. 67.

## SATIRE VI.

This satire is the song of a contented spirit. Its theme is the peace of the country, contrasted with the turmoil and the thousand vexations of the city. Happy in the possession of the Sabine farm, which is both a retreat from the distractions of life and a proof of Maecenas's affection, he asks for nothing more (1–15). What theme better suited for his pen? In the freshness of the morning hour he invokes Janus as the patron of his song (16–23). How differently dawns the day at Rome. Unpleasant duties harass him, and even a visit to Maecenas, sweet solace of his sickened soul, exposes him to new attacks and trials (23–59). So passes the day, awaking in him a tender longing for the peace of the country, its charming enjoyments, simple fare, and divine companionship of friends (60–76). Cervius closes the poem with a fable illustrating the dangers of city life compared with the peace of the country (77–110).



The date of this satire, as is generally agreed, was the close of the year 31 B.C. or the beginning of 30 B.C. (see note on v. 40). In its praise of the country it stands nearly related to Ep. 1. 10, and the same theme appears often in Horace's writings. All readers are enthusiastic in their admiration of this satire, and Pope has imitated it with some success.

1. **hoc** refers grammatically to what follows, but actually to his villa spread out before him, which he proceeds to describe. — **votis**: *prayer.* *Votum* is a vow made to the gods for obtaining a certain request; also the gift obtained by means of such a vow. — **ita** = *admodum, valde*, especially after negatives; *not so very large;* cf. Cic. Or. 2, *non ita lato interiecto mari;* Rosc. Com. 64, *non ita multis annis.*

2. **iugis**: gen., as appears from Ep. 1. 15. 16.

3. **paulum silvae**: cf. *silva pecorum iugerum*, Od. 3. 16. 29. — **super his** is taken by many as equal to the more usual *super haec, in addition to these things* (cf. Sil. Ital. 1. 60), but the description is made more picturesque by taking it locally, *above these.*

4. **Bene est**: in the same way *bene habet* is used; cf. Greek καλῶς ἔχει.

5. **Maia nate**: Mercury was the god of gain, whether justly or unjustly acquired. Merchants made special offerings to him and Maia on the Ides of May, and images and chapels were erected to his honor in the marts of trade. In S. 2. 3. 25, Damasippus, the shrewd trader, receives from the crowd the cognomen *Mercurialis.* Cf. Preller, röm. Mythol. II. p. 231. — **propria**: *permanently mine.* For the form *faxis*, see on S. 1. 5. 79.

6. Horace bases the prayer for continued favor (v. 15) on his own integrity and freedom from selfishness. The *si* clauses here are examples of conditions expressing a virtual reality.

7. **vitio**: *excess, dissipation.* — **culpa**: *negligence.*

8. **si veneror**, etc.: *if I offer no such prayer;* cf. S. 2. 2. 124; Carm. Saec. 49.

9. **denormat**: *norma* is a carpenter's tool, the Roman square; hence *denormat, spoils the shape of.*

11. **mercennarius** belongs really with *illi*, but it is attracted into the relative clause. For similar attraction cf. S. 2. 2. 59.

12. **dives amico Hercule**: Hercules as πλουτοδότης shares the function ascribed to Mercury above. To him the Romans dedicated a tenth of any treasure they might happen to find; cf. Plaut. Bacch. 665, and see Preller, II. p. 292.

13. **gratum**: best construed as masc.; "my grateful soul," Greenough; while to the miser, *curtae nescio quid semper abest rei*, Od. 3. 24. 64.

14. **pingue pecus**: in allusion to Mercury as the guardian of flocks, νόμιος; while *pingue ingenium* is in accord with the proverbial *pingui Minerva;* cf. S. 2. 2. 3; "May all, in fact (except my brains), be fat," Con.

15. **utque soles**: it was Mercury who rescued him from the battle-field of Philippi, Od. 2. 7. 13.

16. **ergo**: "in this frame of mind." — **in montis**: the Sabine hills; cf. Ep. 1. 16. 5. — **in arcem**: so called because it afforded protection against the annoyances of city life.

17. **quid prius**: *what sooner* than these very surroundings? — **saturis**: instrumental abl. Horace's conception of satire was not so strict as ours; to his mind it included much of a general miscellaneous character, like the old *saturae;* here it borders on the idyl. — **musaque pedestri**: the muse of his *sermones repentis per humum*, Ep. 2. 1. 250, in contrast to the dashing Pegasus of lyric poetry; cf. *sermo pedester*, A. P. 95. In Od. 2. 12. 9, *pedestres historiae* is used for "prose histories."

18. **ambitio**: not his own, but of those who tried to use Horace's influence for their own advancement. — **plumbeus**: *leaden, oppressive.*

19. **autumnusque gravis**: cf. Od. 2. 14. 15, *frustra per autumnos nocentem corporibus metuemus austrum.* — **Libitinae**: the goddess of death, who presided over funerals. Servius Tullius ordered that a piece of money be paid into her treasury on occasion of every death (*lucar Libitinae*), and in a grove sacred to her (*lucus Libitinae*) were kept biers and all the apparatus essential to a funeral, whence they were rented by the undertakers (*libitinarii*). Hence the gain that a frequency of deaths brought her; cf. Preller, I. p. 440.



20. **Matutinus pater** and *mater Matuta* were the divinities of the morning hour; but the former was easily confounded with Janus, who was the god of all beginnings, and opened and closed the gates of heaven. — **Iane**: this is the direct object of *audis*, being the very form that would be heard in the prayer to him; cf. S. 1. 6. 29, *audit continuo 'quis homo hic?'* Generally *audio* in such passages is used as equal to *appellaris*, like the Greek ἀκούεις, and is followed by the nominative. The gods were addressed by many names in their various functions, and, like men, found some titles more pleasing than others; cf. Carm. Saec. 14.

21. **unde**: *a quo;* used personally, as Od. 1. 12. 17; S. 1. 6. 12.

22. **sic dis placitum**: a favorite parenthesis with the poets; cf. Od. 1. 33. 10, *sic Iovi gratum; sic visum Veneri;* Epod. 9. 3, *sic Iovi gratum;* Verg. Aen. 5. 50, *sic di voluistis.*

23. The charming quiet and peace of Horace's situation in the country suggests by contrast the turmoil and distractions of a day in the city. — **sponsorem**: the sponsor is security for a debt contracted by word of mouth; he becomes such by using the formula *ego idem dare spondeo.* To assume this obligation was one of the most frequent demands of friendship.

24. **officio . . . respondeat**: "answer duty's call," Palmer. — **urge**: intransitive, *hurry up.*

25. **sive Aquilo**, etc.: "In spite of wind and wintry weather, go I must." — **radit**: *sweeps; siccat et suo flatu verrit,* Schol. Cruq. In Epod. 16. 54 the same word is used of the furrows worn in the ground by excessive showers. Note the varied characteristics of winter: *bruma, nivalem diem, interiore gyro, trahit.* — **bruma** < **brevima* = *brevissima* is the mark of the winter solstice. — **interiore gyro**: because the sun's course through the heavens is shorter, a smaller circle, than in summer. — **trahit** expresses the tediousness of a winter day, which seems to move reluctantly.

27. **postmodo** belongs with *luctandum*, as Horace is describing the successive events of a day in Rome, though some editors prefer

to join it with *obsit*. — **quod mi obsit**: there was a proverb attributed to Bias, *ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα*; i.e. *sponde; noxa praesto est*. So Proverbs 11. 15: "He that is surety for a stranger shall smart for it, and he that hateth suretyship is sure." — **clare**: the formula used on such occasions must be spoken distinctly (*clare*) and in prescribed form (*certum*); cf. S. 2. 5. 100.

28. After the pledge has been given for his friend, he hastens to pay his morning visit to Maecenas, jostling in the way those who are just coming down to the forum. Maecenas's house was on the Esquiline.

29. **quid tibi vis**, etc.: see App. *What's the matter with you, and what are you about?*

30. **iratis precibus**: *with violent curses.* — **tu pulses**, etc.: on a second look, the stranger recognizes who is before him, and asks indignantly:

> "What? must you knock down all that's in your way,
> Because you're posting to Maecenas, eh?" Con.

31. **memori**: i.e. only of Maecenas.

32. **hoc**: the very fact that his intimacy with Maecenas is recognized. — **atras**: a reminiscence of the fact that here was formerly a potter's field, a burying ground for the poor and slaves.

34. **per caput**: recollections of commissions that had been enjoined upon him, while *circa saliunt latus* refers to new assaults made on every hand. An example of the first kind is given v. 34 and 35, of the second v. 36–39. According to this view, the first sentence is spoken to himself. — **ante secundam**: see on S. 1. 5. 23. Roman business life began at very early hours.

35. **ad Puteal**: this was the *Puteal Libonis* or *Scribonianum*, mentioned again Ep. 1. 19. 8. A spot struck by lightning was regarded as sacred, and around such a spot in the Forum a circular wall had been erected by Scribonius Libo, possibly the Aedile of 193 B.C., or the Tribune of the People of 149 B.C. Near this wall men of business seem to have congregated, and so *Puteal* has often a meaning almost identical with our 'Change or Wall Street; cf. Ep. 1. 19. 8; Ov. Rem. Am. 561; Cic. Sest. 8. 18; Pers. 4. 49. Porphyrio, in his note on Ep. 1. 19. 8, tells us that the tribunal of the Praetor was near this spot, and in accordance with this fact Schol. Cruq. explains our passage as follows: *itaque adesse ad Puteal, est iuvare causam, iudicique commendare.* In view of the fact that, in all the other examples referred to above, there is no allusion to legal business, but rather to mercantile affairs, a similar interpretation is to be preferred for our passage. Heindorf doubts the whole story of the scholiast about the Praetor's tribunal. He thinks it was suggested because of the word *adesse*, which generally has reference to a judicial assistance. Kiessling, however, accepts both the story and the explanation of Schol. Cruq.



36. **scribae**: see on S. 1. 5. 35. The public clerks formed a regular order and were divided into *decuriae*, possibly according to their different lines of service. It is not known whether or no Horace still held his position as *scriba*, even nominally, at the time when this satire was written. *Aliena negotia* has been cited in favor of the negative; but *re communi* shows that Horace was, to some extent, identified with their cause, and *reverti* suggests that he had attended some previous meeting. On the other hand, in recording the employments of the day, S. 1. 6. 111 ff., no place is given to his duties as *scriba*.

37. **orabant**: like the epistolary impf. — **Quinte**: the use of the praenomen is a sign of familiarity. The message was delivered by some one who was, or had been, a colleague of Horace.

38. **signa**: *seal*, worn then, as now, usually on a ring. Pliny (H. N. 37. 1. 10) tells us that the seal of Maecenas was a frog and was much dreaded, because affixed frequently to orders for money. The plural, *signa*, seems to include both signature and seal. The allusion here is either to Maecenas's own seal or to that of Augustus, which was committed to the keeping of Maecenas, with Agrippa as associate for a part of the time, from before the battle of Actium until his return to Rome in 29 B.C. The seal of Augustus was at first a sphinx, but it was afterwards changed for the image of Alexander the Great, or, according to Dio Cassius, for his own image. Later emperors, with the exception of Galba, used their own image.

39. **instat**: *insists on it.*

40. **Septimus**, etc.: Horace now dwells at some length, and with a certain feeling of pride, on his relation to Maecenas. —

**octavo propior** seems added to *annus* as a corrective of *septimus; seven years, more nearly eight, will soon have flown.* If we count that Horace's first introduction to Maecenas was in 39 B.C., and his second meeting with him in the spring of 38 B.C., then seven and one-half years would place this satire in the fall of 31 B.C., which accords with the allusions in v. 53–55.

42. **dumtaxat ad hoc**: *merely to this extent, that*, etc.; cf. S. 2. 8. 25. — **tollere raeda**: not pleasure drives in the city, for such were not allowed, but excursions into the surrounding country (cf. S. 1. 6. 101), or more extensive trips, as the Brundisian journey. For *raeda*, see on S. 1. 5. 86; 1. 6. 104.

44. **hoc genus**: A. & G. 240, b; G. 331, 3; H. 378, 2. — **Thraex**: this was the prevailing spelling when the word was used to denote a gladiator, and is in form nearer the Greek form Θρᾷξ than any other. This class of gladiators were armed with a short, curved sword (*sica*) and a small, round shield (*parma*). Here we have one called *Gallina*, a name which does not occur elsewhere. The Thracians were sometimes pitted against each other, though generally against *mirmillones*, who wore Gallic helmets with the image of a fish for a crest; hence the name, μορμύλος being a variant form of μορμύρος. Syrus was probably one of this class.

45. **mordent**: used also of heat, Ep. 1. 8. 5. The time of year when Horace was writing (autumn) may have influenced him in framing this question. Stronger than *mordeo* is *uro*, used by Verg. Georg. 1. 93. Compare the familiar expression, "a biting wind."

46. **bene**: *without risk.* — **rimosa . . . in aure**: *a leaky ear;* cf. *plenus rimarum sum, hac atque illac perfluo*, Ter. Eun. 105. For the opposite, cf. Od. 1. 27. 18, *depone tutis auribus.*

47. **per totum**, etc.: *all these eight years.* — **in diem**: for the more usual *in dies.*

48. **noster**: *our friend*, i.e. Horace; cf. Plaut. Rud. 1245. — **Ludos**: in the theatre or arena. — **spectaverat**: no conjunction is to be supplied; it is another instance of parataxis. See on S. 1. 1. 45. — **una**: i.e. *cum Maecenate.*

49. **luserat**: probably ball; see on S. 1. 5. 48; 1. 6. 126.

50. **frigidus . . . rumor**: *some chilling rumor spreads from the Forum through the corners of the city*



52. **deos**: Octavianus, Maecenas, Agrippa.

53. The Dacians had joined the side of Antony, and were just at this time assuming a threatening attitude towards Rome. They were not finally reduced to a Roman province till the time of Trajan, 101–106 A.D. — **ut**: *how;* cf. S. 2. 8. 62.

55. **si quicquam**: sc. *audivi.* Another sought nearer information about lands that were to be assigned to the veterans who had been disbanded after the battle of Actium. In order to put a stop to a mutiny among them, Augustus had to hasten back to Italy from Asia in the winter of 31–30 B.C. The extent of this apportioning of homes may be seen from Augustus's own statements in the Mon. Anc. 3. 22, where he reckons at 600,000,000 sesterces the sum paid out for Italian homes, which he distributed among 120,000 veterans. — **Triquetra**: Sicilian; the three-cornered land.

57. **unum**: *to a remarkable degree.*

59. **Perditur**: see App.

60. The repetition of **quando** in this verse and in v. 63 is expressive of emotion. Cowley's imitation of this passage is well known.

61. **veterum libris**: the old classics, both Greek and Latin; for partial enumeration see S. 2. 3. 11. — **somno**: in the country he could sleep undisturbed in the early morning, and take his midday siesta, — a custom that had not yet become prevalent at Rome. Horace's love of sleep breaks out on all occasions; cf. S. 1. 6. 119; S. 2. 3. 3; Ep. 2. 2. 78; 1. 17. 6.

62. **ducere**; *to quaff*, as wine.

63. **faba**: the bean is the kinsman of Pythagoras, because he is said to have believed that the souls of mortals might inhabit this vegetable. Horace seems to be indulging in a fling at the Pythagoreans, as in Od. 1. 28. 10; Ep. 2. 1. 52.

64. **uncta satis**: and so needing no addition of oil.

65. **deum**: they were as happy and free from care as gods. — **meique**: equal to *cum amicis.* It has no share in the government of the verb.

66. **ante Larem proprium**: *by my own hearth.* In the atrium stood the images of the Lares, and here, too, in the simplicity of country life, was the kitchen. — **vernas** are the slaves born in the house as opposed to those acquired by purchase. Mingling with

the family from infancy, they were allowed many privileges, and so were often '*saucy*' (*procaces*).

67. **libatis dapibus**: to be construed with *pasco; with viands which we have barely tasted.* — **Prout**: one syllable, as *quoad*, S. 2. 3. 91; *ostrea*, S. 2. 2. 21. To avoid this synizesis, Bentley preferred another reading, *cum ut*.

68. **inaequalis**: regulated by no law, but left to each one's fancy (*libido*). They chose no *magister* or *arbiter bibendi*, συμποσιαρχος, who should decide as to the amount of water to be added to the wine.

69. **capit**: not simply *chooses*, as Orelli interprets it, but *contains*, i.e. *can stand.* — **acria . . . pocula**: *fiery bowls.* — **fortis**: *of a strong head.*

70. **seu modicis**, etc.: *or with milder cups prefers to grow moist.* — **laetius** = *libentius.* With this use of *uvescit*, cf. *uvidus*, Od. 2. 19. 18; 4. 5. 39. — **Ergo**: *and then;* this is often not an illative particle, but, like δή, denotes natural consecution. This is its commonest use in Plautus.

72. **Lepos**: some stage dancer who may have been just then the topic of conversation in city circles. The questions discussed at Horace's table are the highest ethical problems.

75. The Epicureans derived friendship from interest (*usus*, τὸ χρήσιμον), the Stoics from virtue (*rectum*, τὸ ἀγαθόν); cf. Cic. Lael. 8. 26.

77. **Cervius**: not the one mentioned in S. 2. 1. 47. He spices the discussion with old wives' tales (*anilis*) suggested by the subject in hand (*ex re*). — **Arelli**: some unknown rich man, whose wealth could not purchase peace.

79. **sollicitas ignarus**: in striking juxtaposition. — **olim** is the standard introductory word of tales and fables,— *once upon a time.* The one here told may be found in Babrius, No. 108.

80. Note the order in the first part of this verse and the close of the next one.

81. **veterem**, etc.: *old friends both, host and guest.* — **paupere . . . cavo**: *in his humble hole.*

82. **attentus quaesitis**: *watchful of his store; quaesitis* is dat. — **ut tamen**: *ut* clauses are sometimes used in a restrictive or adversative sense, *but so that.* In such cases *ita* is regularly expressed either in the principal clause or at the beginning of the *ut* clause: *yet not without opening in acts of hospitality his close breast; hospitiis* is abl.



83. **Quid multa**: see on S. 1. 6. 82.

84. **sepositi**: laid by for a special occasion; cf. *nunc indue vestem sepositam*, Tib. 2. 5. 8. — **avenae**: gen. The construction is in imitation of the Greek φθονεῖν τινος; for the ordinary constructions see the Lex.

87. **male**: *barely.* The fastidiousness of the guest is expressed in every word of this line.

89. **esset**: adversative *cum* clause.

90. **quid te iuvat**: *what pleasure does it afford you?* — **urbanus**: substantive, as in A. P. 213, and as *agrestem*, v. 98.

91. **patientem**: ταλαίπωρον is the word in Babrius.

92. **Vis tu**: *won't you?* see on S. 1. 9. 69.

93. **quando**: *since.* The town mouse is trained in the school of Epicurus, and discourses learnedly on the mortality of the soul; cf. Lucret. 5. 822.

94. **sortita**: *having obtained from fate.*

95. **magno** and **parvo** are neuter, as *terrestria.* — **quo, bone, circa**: tmesis for *quocirca;* as *quo me cunque rapit*, Ep. 1. 1. 15.

97. The gen. of quality, *aevi brevis*, is necessary, because there is no adj. to express the opposite of *longaevus.*

98. **pepulere**: exactly as we say "*struck.*" — **levis**: *lightly, without delay.*

100. **nocturni**: nom. pl., but it can be best translated as an adv.; cf. S. 1. 3. 117. — **subrepere**: cf. *subire*, S. 1. 5. 25. — **Iamque tenebat**: a stately epic tone is assumed, as in S. 1. 5. 9.

101. **ponit . . . vestigia**: *set foot.*

102. **cocco**: an excrescence growing upon several species of oak on the shores of the Mediterranean; it was thought to be of vegetable origin, but is in fact caused by an insect. From it scarlet dye was prepared.

103. **lectos . . . eburnos**: that is, *lectos eburatos*, couches inlaid with ivory. Later, under the empire, tables and couches of solid silver are mentioned. — **canderet**: the subj. is used because the relative clause is not merely descriptive, but characteristic and definitive. *Candidus* is *shining white*, opposed to *niger*, while

*albus* is a dull white, opposed to *ater*. Hence *candere* may be used of the blaze of red-hot iron (*lamna candente*, Ep. 1. 15. 36), or a burning torch. Here it is applied to the bright sheen of the scarlet vestments. Even *purpureus* sometimes means simply *brilliant, shining*, as in Od. 4. 1. 10.

105. **procul**: *hard by;* see on Ep. 1. 7. 32. — **hesterna**: *left from yesterday.*

107. **veluti succinctus**: cf. *puer alte cinctus*, S. 2. 8. 10.

108. **continuat**: *continually offers new viands.* — **verniliter**: *like an attentive servant.*

109. **praelambens**: as is always done in the kitchen; probably no reference is intended to the office of a *praegustator*, for such servants were as yet uncommon, and there would be no occasion for this service to be rendered in the present instance.

111. **agit laetum convivam**: *plays the joyous guest.* In the mean time morning dawns, and the slaves enter to clean the rooms.

112. **valvae** were folding doors of two, three, or even more parts, used to close wide entrances, as in temples or luxurious palaces.

114. **Molossis**: from the eastern part of Epirus. For the reputation of these dogs, cf. Epod. 6. 5; Verg. Georg. 3. 404. In Pope's imitation of this satire the cat is substituted for the dog, but cats were practically unknown among the Greeks and Romans. As a mouser we hear of a kind of weasel, to which the name *mustela* was applied, and even *felis* seems sometimes to refer to this animal; see Mayor on Juv. 15. 7.

## SATIRE VIII.

As a fitting conclusion to his satires, Horace gives a description of a dinner given by Nasidienus, a man of wealth but of little culture, and without taste or tact, in honor of Maecenas and some of his friends. The setting of the satire is in accord with the dialogue style adopted by Horace in the second book. Meeting the comic poet Fundanius (see on S. 1. 10. 42), whom he had desired to invite to his own house the day before, he gets from him an account of



the feast. The host, Nasidienus, was anxious to please his guests, but fell into a number of most grievous errors, and exhibited his awkwardness and ill-breeding at every turn. Though such distinguished guests as Maecenas, Varius, Viscus, and Fundanius are at the table, the conversation is carried on chiefly by the host, and consists of praise of the fare and explanation of the rare dishes, — in fact, of all sorts of gastronomic details. Vibidius and Balatro know how to get their fun out of the situation, but the literary guests preserve a dignified silence. The poem is not a description of an actual occurrence, but is a characteristic picture of one phase of Roman society. The attempt to identify Nasidienus Rufus with any known personage, or to accurately fix the date of the satire, is useless. In this description, as in the account of the Brundisian journey, Horace imitated Lucilius, who is said to have satirized a *rusticam cenam*.

1. **ut** in direct questions belongs to the language of every-day life, *sermo cotidianus*. It is found Ep. 1. 3. 12, and frequently in Plautus and Terence. — **Nasidieni**: a case of synaeresis; *i* becomes consonantal, making the preceding syllable long; cf. *Servilio*, v. 21; *consilium*, Od. 3. 4. 41. — **beati**: *wealthy*, as in Od. 1. 4. 14, but it has here a touch of irony.

2. **dictus**: sc. *es*. The omission of *esse* is quite common in comedy, and its frequency in Horace is a mark of the *sermo familiaris;* see Introduction, p. xx. — **here**: for difference in usage between this form and *heri* see Harp. Lex. Quintilian (1. 4. 8) says the final vowel sound was an indistinct one, neither *i* nor *e*.

3. **de medio . . . die**: more elaborate banquets began at an earlier hour than usual, *convivia tempestiva*. Ordinarily the *cena* was taken *post nonam* (Ep. 1. 7. 71), or even later (Ep. 1. 5. 3).

5. **iratum ventrem**: *gnawing hunger;* cf. *latrantem stomachum*, S. 2. 2. 18. Helmbold thinks that the guests omitted the usual *prandium*, so as to be in trim for the *cena*.

6. A Roman *cena* consisted properly of three parts: 1) *gustus*, or *gustatio*, or *promulsis*, consisting of articles that would tend to whet the appetite, as olives, eggs, oysters, etc., accompanied by a drink, *mulsum*, of wine and honey; 2) the *cena* proper, being a number of courses of more substantial viands; 3) *mensae secun-*

*dae*, which was the dessert. In the present case a boar, probably served cold, is added to the *promulsis*. This practice is mentioned by Pliny, H. N. 8. 51. 210. — **Lucanus aper**: Lucanian boars were highly prized, as were also the Marsian and Etrurian, but not those from the swamps of Laurentum, S. 2. 4. 43. Pliny (H. N. 8. 51. 210) tells us that the first one to introduce the custom of serving boars entire at banquets was P. Servilius Rullus, father of the Rullus who proposed an agrarian law in the year of Cicero's consulship. — **leni . . . Austro captus**: the meaning of these words is not plain, but they must be intended by the host as a recommendation of his dish. Possibly he means that in the heat of a sirocco meat would spoil, but this was caught in a gentle wind.

7. **aiebat**: *kept saying*, as he urged each one to partake bountifully. — **cenae pater**: cf. *pater domus*, S. 2. 6. 88. The host is variously designated: *Rufus*, v. 58; *Nasidienus*, v. 75; *erus*, v. 16, 43; *ipse*, v. 23; *parochus*, v. 36; *convivator*, v. 73.

8. **qualia**, etc.: *such things as whet the sluggish appetite.*

9. **siser**: *skirret*, a favorite dish of Tiberius. — **allec**: *fish pickle.* — **faecula Coa**: *tartar-leas from Coan wine.*

10. At the end of this course the dishes are removed and the table carefully brushed off. — **puer alte cinctus**: this would seem to be in accordance with the usual custom; cf. S. 2. 6. 107, and cf. *ex alticinctis unus atriensibus*, Phaedr. 2. 5. 11. — **acernam**: hardly a mark of vulgarity, as Schol. Cruq. suggests, for maple tables ranked second to those of citrus-wood; cf. Plin. 16. 15. 68, *acer . . . operum elegantia ac subtilitate citro secundum.* No mention is made of table-cloths before the time of Martial (14. 138. 1).

11. **alter**: technically called *analecta* or *collector of crumbs.*

12. The subjunctive mood (*iaceret*, *posset*) indicates the thought, order, direction of the master to the slave.

13. **ut Attica virgo**: allusion is made to a *Canephoros*, i.e. a virgin who bore in a basket certain sacred symbols of Ceres at religious processions at Athens. The point seems to be that the wine-bearer moves along as slowly and solemnly as if he were bearing something sacred; cf. S. 1. 3. 10.

14. **fuscus**: *tawny.* — **Hydaspes**: the slave is named after a river of his native land. The Hydaspes is a tributary of the Indus. Indian and Ethiopian slaves were held in esteem, and were a mark of luxury; cf. *Enipeus*, Od. 3. 7. 23; *Hebrus*, Od. 3. 12. 6.



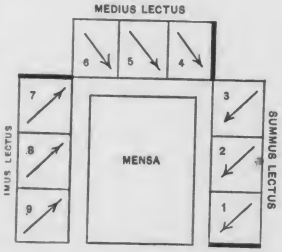
15. The Caecuban was a favorite wine with Horace, and is often mentioned as of the first quality. It was no longer made in Pliny's time. The Chian was one of the best of Greek wines, and is mentioned by Horace with high praise. — **maris expers**: *unmixed with sea-water.* It was often the practice among the Greeks to mix sea-water with certain kinds of wine, especially with the Coan; but Galen (Meth. Medendi, 12. 4) excepts from this treatment the best sort of Chian.

16. The Alban and Falernian were reckoned the next best after the Caecuban, and, had the host known the proper thing, he would have placed all four kinds before his guests. What, in the mind of the host, is great pomp and style and display of wealth, is to Horace a proof of coarseness and ill-breeding. Hence the exclamation, "*divitias miseras.*"

18. The mention of Maecenas's name causes Horace to inquire as to the guests.

19. **pulchre fuerit tibi**: *you fared so finely.* — **nosse laboro**: *I am anxious to know.* The inf. after *laboro* is quite common in Horace; e.g. S. 1. 1. 112; 2. 3. 269; A. P. 25, 168, 192, 435. Once he uses a *ne* clause, S. 2. 4. 49.

20. The accompanying diagram shows the arrangement of a *triclinium* and the position of the guests. The *lecti* were called *summus*, *medius*, *imus*, and each afforded three places called by the same names, though all nine places were not always occupied. The seat of honor was No. 6, which was called *locus consularis.* No. 7 was generally taken by the host, but in this case he yields it to Nomentanus for the purpose mentioned in v. 25. The arrangement of the guests was as follows: 1. Fundanius; 2. Viscus; 3. Varius; 4. Servilius Balatro; 5. Vibidius; 6. Maecenas; 7. No-



mentanus; 8. Nasidienus; 9. Porcius. — **Viscus Thurinus**: probably one of the Visci mentioned in S. 1. 10. 83.

21. **Varius**: see on S. 1. 5. 40. — **Servilio**: synaeresis; see on v. 1. The person is unknown; his name seems to indicate the clown.

22. **umbras**: additional guests brought by one of those invited. In like manner the Greeks used the word σκιά; cf. also Ep. 1. 5. 28. For the custom, cf. Plut. Conviv. Quaes. 7. 6. 2.

23. Nomentanus and Porcius are unknown, but are friends of the host, as the other guests are selected with reference to Maecenas. The *imus lectus* usually belonged to the host and his family. — **ipsum**: the master of the house; so often used by servants, like the Greek αὐτός.

24. "Who makes you laugh by swallowing cheesecakes whole," Con. For the inf. after *ridiculus*, cf. *durus componere versus*, S. 1. 4. 8.

25. **ad hoc, qui**: cf. S. 2. 6. 42.

26. **indice . . . digito**: *the fore-finger.* The names of the fingers were as follows: *pollex*, thumb; then, *index digitus*, or *salutaris; medius*, or *infamis; medicus*, or *minimo proximus; minimus.*

27. **nos**: *we, the uninitiated*, in contradistinction to the connoisseur Nomentanus, including Maecenas too.

28. **celantia**: neut., because referring to substantives of different genders; *things having a flavor far different from what we were accustomed to;* therefore we could not have recognized the dishes without the aid of Nomentanus.

29. **ut vel**, etc.: *as at once became apparent.* The force of *vel* is not so much intensive as illustrative; *if you will, for example.* Cf. S. 1. 6. 105, *ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum.* — **passeris**: *plaice.*

30. **ingustata mihi**: *that had been allowed to sit before me untasted;* i.e. because I did not recognize the dish. The subject of *porrexerat* is Nasidienus rather than Nomentanus.

31. **melimela**: *honey apples.* Fruit belonged properly to the *mensae secundae.* — **minorem ad lunam**: generally interpreted "by the light of the waning moon"; but Kiessling's suggestion is better, "when the moon is young," i.e. "at new moon."

32. **ab ipso**: Nasidienus; cf. v. 23.



34. **damnose** is used colloquially for *immodice.* It has something of the ring of "drink him to the deuce," though not quite so rude.

36. **parochi**: *our caterer*, with a touch of disrespect. He feared hard drinkers because of the license of their tongues, and because their palates would become blunted to the taste of his dainties. That his real motive was stinginess is not said, but is hinted at in vv. 41 and 82.

39. **Allifanis**: dative; "they empty whole decanters into their wine-cups." These were large cups made at Allifae, a town of Samnium.

41. The *convivae imi lecti* were the parasites of the host.

44. **post partum**: *after spawning.* The fact is one well known, and hence needlessly mentioned by Nasidienus.

45. **his**, etc.: *this is what the sauce is made of: Venafrian oil of the first pressing.* Venafrum was a town of Samnium which produced the best olive oil; cf. S. 2. 4. 69. The olives were usually pressed three times, yielding three different qualities of oil.

46. **garo**: a pungent sauce, prepared from certain parts of the Spanish mackerel (*scomber, piscis Hiberus*).

47. **citra mare nato**: Italian wine while boiling, but Chian is to be added when the boiling is over.

48. **ut non**: sc. *convenire possit.*

50. **quod**, etc.: *vinegar which has changed the Methymnean grape by fermenting;* i.e. vinegar derived from the wine of Methymna, one of the sweetest and finest of the Lesbian wines. Fermenting is here a *vitium*, because it spoils the wine.

51. **erucas**: *rockets.* — **inulas**: *elecampane.*

52. **inlutos**, etc.: Curtillus suggested the addition of the sea-urchin, thrown in unwashed (*inlutos*), shell and all (*testa marina*), as affording a brine superior to the ordinary one.

53. **ut melius**, etc.: the construction is as follows: *ut* (*quoniam*) (*id*) *quod testa marina remittat, melius muria* (*sit*).

54. While the host is finishing his account of this most extraordinary sauce, a sad fate overtakes his dinner in that the curtains stretched across the ceiling come tumbling down. Heavy curtains (*aulaea*) were used for closing doors, and as a kind of tapestry for wall-decoration. Sometimes, too, they were stretched along the

ceiling to prevent dust from falling, or as an ornament. This is attested by Porphyrio in his note on this passage; and Servius, commenting on Aen. 1. 697, quotes from Varro to the same effect. At first the guests may have thought that the whole ceiling was coming down (*maius veriti*), then, perceiving no further damage, they take heart and raise their heads (*erigimur*). Nasidienus Rufus buries his face in his hands and weeps.

59. **quis esset**: this is not simply the impf. subj. used for the plup., but in *esset* there is a touch of the present, and in *tolleret* he transfers himself to the time of the occurrence: "He would still be weeping, but Nomentanus cheers him up"; cf. *narraret*, v. 92.

62. **ut**: *how*, in exclamation, as in S. 2. 6. 53; cf. Ter. Hec. 406, *O fortuna, ut nunquam perpetuo es data.*

63. **mappa**: this was the napkin, which was sometimes provided by the host (S. 2. 4. 81; Ep. 1. 5. 22), though more generally brought by the guest himself. Martial (12. 31) wittily says of Hermogenes, the thief: —

> Ad cenam Hermogenes mappam non attulit unquam,
> A cena semper rettulit Hermogenes.

64. **suspendens omnia naso**: cf. S. 1. 6. 5.

67. **tene . . . torquerier**: for inf. see on S. 1. 9. 72. This peculiar form of the pass. inf., which occurs frequently in Plautus and Terence, has never been satisfactorily explained. Stolz supposes it to be an extension of the regular pass. inf. in *i* by the addition of the act. ending *-ere*, which was abraded to *-er*. Horace uses this form once in the Odes (4. 11. 8), five times in the Satires (1. 2. 35; 1. 2. 78; 1. 2. 104; 2. 3. 24), and three times in the Epistles (2. 1. 94; 2. 2. 148; 2. 2. 151). — **ut ego**: a jester's stroke, for he was an *umbra*, and had not been provided for at all.

70. **praecincti**: cf. *alte cinctus*, v. 10.

72. **agaso**: we need not suppose with Helmbold that Nasidienus had really pressed a stable-boy into his service as a waiter, but the servant who lets the dish fall is so clumsy that he may be called *agaso*.

73. The flattery of this and the following line revives the host and wins his heart: —

> "But gifts, concealed by sunshine, are displayed
> In hosts, as in commanders, by the shade," Con.



75. **tibi di . . . dent**: cf. S. 1. 9. 5; Plaut. Pseud. 936, *tantum tibi boni di immortales duint quantum tu tibi exoptes.*

77. **soleas poscit**: the Roman shoe was called *calceus; soleae* were sandals, and were worn usually in the house or when one went out to dine. In the latter case the guest was accompanied by a slave, who removed his master's sandals when he had taken his place on the couch (*demere soleas*), and returned them to him when he was ready to leave the table. Here Nasidienus calls for his sandals to go into the kitchen and see to the proper continuation of the feast. — **tum**: when he had gone out.

78. **susurros**: they whisper so that they may not be heard by Nomentanus, Porcius, or the servants. The repetition of the letter *s* suggests the sound of their whispers.

79. **spectasse**: in early Latin, especially in legal formulas, the perf. inf. was largely used after verbs of wishing (*nolo, volo*) to express a prohibition. The verb of wishing referred to the fut., and the perf. inf. expressed completed action, so that there was formed a kind of fut. perf. inf. In classical Latin this same principle appears in the use of the perf. part. or perf. pass. inf. after verbs of wishing not prohibitive; while later writers transfer this usage freely to the act. inf. The tendency of the Latin writers to strain a point and use the fut. perf. for the fut. finds its parallel in this construction; for we find often the perf. inf. where the pres. would be expected, and especially the poets use either form as best suits the metre or is otherwise more convenient. Neither do they confine the construction to verbs of wishing, but admit other verbs which carry together with their proper meaning some indication of desire; so Horace uses it after *nolo*, S. 1. 2. 28; *cupio*, Ep. 2. 2. 109; *amo*, S. 1. 10. 60; *curo*, Ep. 1. 17. 4, 1. 18. 59; A. P. 98; *tendo*, Od. 3. 4. 51; *laboro*, S. 2. 8. 19; A. P. 434; *timeo*, A. P. 455; *caveo*, A. P. 168. In the present example, and in A. P. 347, the perf. inf. has a clear reference to completed action, but in most of the examples cited above it has no force other than the pres. would have had. See a valuable article on this topic by Howard, Harvard Studies, I. p. 111.

82. **pocula**: in Horace this word oftener means the drink itself than the goblet.

83. **fictis rerum**: for *fictis rebus;* cf. *amara curarum*, Od. 4.

12. 19; *vanis rerum*, S. 2. 2. 25; *abdita rerum*, A. P. 49. The abl. is construed with *secundo* = *adiuvante*: *Balatro aiding with feigned jests.*

84. **mutatae frontis**: gen. of quality in the predicate after *redis*; the brow is the seat of confidence. — **arte** = *ingenio*, v. 73, opposed to the blind domination of fortune; cf. Ter. Ad. 741, *illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.*

86. **mazonomo**: μαζονόμος was a large wooden dish, for serving bread. It is used here and Varro, R. R. 3. 4, for any large dish. — **discerpta**: *dismembered. Carpere* is employed, as well as *scindere*, to indicate the labor of the carver (*scissor*); cf. Petron. 36, *vides illum qui obsonium carpit: Carpius vocatur, itaque quotiescumque dicit* (sc. *Trimalchio*) '*Carpe*,' *eodem verbo et vocat et imperat.*

87. **Grus** is masc. and *anser* is fem., both contrary to the rule. Possibly Nasidienus means especially to emphasize the sex, as does Pers. 6. 24, when he writes *turdarum*, because the epicures could tell, as the scholiast informs us, the difference in sex by the taste.

89. **ut multo suavius**: apposition to *armos*. These were the pieces most highly prized by the connoisseur; cf. S. 2. 4. 44.

90. **edit**: subj., giving the thought of Nasidienus. This archaic form is used in Epod. 3. 3; also by Vergil, by Cicero in his letters, and often by Plautus. It is really an optative in form, just as *sim* for *siem* = ἐ(σ)ίην, and is on a par with such subjunctives as *velim*, *nolim*, *malim*, and the archaic *duim*; see Stolz, Lat. Gr. 115. — **pectore adusto**: not the same as *adustus*, v. 68; only *well done.*

91. **sine clune**: this seems a little strange, for the rump of fowls was specially prized, according to Gellius, 15. 8. 2.

93. **fugimus**: tired of hearing the host expatiate as a pastry cook, the guests flee.

94. **velut** = *velut si.*

95. **Canidia**: an unexpected parting stroke at an old friend (Epod. 3. 8). Horace often surprises us at the end of a satire. — **serpentibus**: even the breath of serpents was thought deadly; cf. Colum. 8. 5, *cavendum est ne pulli a serpentibus adflentur, quarum odor tam pestilens est ut interimat universos.*

# EPISTLES — BOOK I.

## EPISTLE I.

The occasion of this epistle may be gathered from the poem itself. Maecenas had evidently been urging Horace to return to lyric poetry. Against this request Horace utters his protest, avowing his devotion to philosophy, which alone brings happiness to man.

Argument: As a gladiator who has received his discharge, I have retired from the field of lighter poetry, and now devote myself unceasingly to the study of philosophy (1–12). I have not yet given my allegiance to any one system. I swear not by any master, but move from port to port as wind and wave may drive me. But I love the study, and all things that keep me from the pursuit of my choice are grievous to me (13–26). For though I reach not the highest, yet all progress is profit, and this is the first step toward the attainment of true wisdom (27–42). But men are wedded to their idols, and care less for culture than for cash (42–52). "Get gold," they cry, "and let virtue follow if she will." They judge more stupidly than boys at play, for these give the crown to noble striving (52–69). My views are different from those of the masses. I would not follow the crowd. Their course leads to ruin, nor have they any consistent theory of life. Fickle they are as water, both rich and poor (70–93). And even you, kind protector, who are offended at any lack of harmony in manner or dress, close your ear to the discords of the soul (93–105). What is the sum of it all? The whole world is mad; the philosopher alone is free, wise, and sound — save when he has a cold (105–108).

There is nothing by which to fix the date of this epistle. Probably it was written as a formal introduction to this book, for which it is admirably suited, setting forth, as it does, the spirit and purpose of the maturest of his writings, and uniting with this a formal dedication to Maecenas. As to the literary merit of this epistle, J. C. Scaliger has well said, "*prima epistola quovis melle dulcior est, sententiae appositae, dictio casta, rotunda, suavis.*" Both Boileau and Pope have imitated it.

1. **Prima dicte**: *dicere* is used as more modest than *canere*, as A. P. 141. Horace's first poetic efforts were not inspired by Maecenas; but *prima* need not be taken quite literally. It is a somewhat conventional phrase of esteem, or it may refer to his first publications, the Satires, where Maecenas is addressed in the very first line. — **summa** = *ultima*. In this use *supremus* is more common; cf. S. 1. 1. 98; Ep. 1. 5. 3; 2. 1. 12; 2. 2. 173, etc.

2. Horace compares himself to a gladiator who has by long service won his discharge. The *rudis* was a wooden rapier with which the gladiator practised, and which was presented to a retiring veteran as a sign that he was free from the obligation to take part in serious encounters. Such veterans were called *rudiarii*, and sometimes were induced to appear again in the arena. *Spectatum* is not simply "gazed upon," but also "approved." After a gladiator had distinguished himself in actual encounter, he was presented with a little medal (*tessera*) of bone or ivory, stamped SP. or SPECT.; cf. *fabula spectata*, A. P. 190.

3. **includere**: poetic inf., as S. 1. 9. 8. — **ludo**: the building in which the gladiators were kept and trained, *ludus gladiatorius*. There seems to be a covert allusion to the sportive character of lyric verse, to which Maecenas would recall him; cf. v. 10.

4. **mens**: *bent of mind.* — **Veianius**: an unknown gladiator. Having received his discharge, he dedicates his arms in the temple of Hercules, just as the shipwrecked sailor consecrates his garments to Neptune (Od. 1. 5. 14), or the poet his lyre to Venus (Od. 3. 26. 3), and retires to the country.

6. **ne . . . harena**: "lest, if he remained in the city, he might again find himself in the arena, and be obliged, time and again, to beg his life at the hands of the spectators." The gladiator



acknowledged his defeat by dropping his shield and raising his left hand, thereby appealing to the people for mercy. Here he draws near the edge of the arena, that his petition may be more effective. In an inscription we read that the gladiator Flamma had been victor twenty-one times, and had received his *missio* four times, Wilm. 2615.

7. **Est mihi**, etc.: the voice of reason; cf. Pers. 5. 96, *stat contra ratio et secretam garrit in aurem.* — **personet**: from this verb is usually derived *persona*, "a mask," but the quantity of the penult raises a difficulty. Havet suggests that *persona*, like most of the Roman stage expressions, came from the Greek, and was a popular corruption of *πρόσωπον*. The figure of the gladiator yields to that of the horse on the race course. So Enn. Ann. 441; *sicut fortis equos, spatio qui saepe supremo vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.*

8. **mature**: *betimes.* — **sanus**: *if you are wise;* cf. S. 1. 5. 44; 1. 6. 89.

9. **ilia ducat**: *draw his panting flanks together; become broken-winded.*

11. **verum**: not so much speculative as moral truth, Schmid. — **decens**: *honestum.* — **omnis**, etc.: cf. *totus in illis*, S. 1. 9. 2.

13. **lare**: in the same spirit in which a sect of philosophers is spoken of as *familia* (Cic. de Div. 2. 1. 3), or *domus*, Od. 1. 29. 14; Cic. Acad. 1. 4. 13.

14. **addictus** was one bound or enslaved to another for the non-payment of a debt, and so used of mental slavery; cf. Cic. Tusc. 2. 2. 5. The gladiatorial school seems to linger in Horace's mind; there the gladiators repeated the oath of allegiance after the *magister*, therefore he says *iurare in verba magistri.* — **iurare**: for the inf., cf. Ep. 1. 2. 27.

15. **tempestas**: the changing skies of life drive him first to one school of philosophy, then to another. — **hospes**: *a sojourner.*

16. **agilis fio**: *ad agendum paratus; πρακτικός.* Such was the teaching of the Stoics; cf. Cic. de Fin. 3. 20. 68, *consentaneum est . . . ut sapiens velit gerere et administrare rem publicam.* Horace is simply characterizing the teachings of this sect, not speaking truthfully of his own experience.

17. **virtutis verae**: the highest ideal of the Stoics, different

from the false ideas of the Epicureans. — **rigidus**: appropriately applied to Stoicism; *Stoicorum rigida ac virilis sapientia*, Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 12; cf. Tac. Ann. 16. 22.

18. Aristippus flourished about 370 B.C. He was a native of Cyrene, a pupil of Socrates, and the founder of the Hedonic school of philosophy. He made pleasure the chief good, and tried to find it in every condition of life. Yet this in such a way as not to be enslaved by it; therefore, *mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.* The expression *non me rebus* serves to characterize the Stoics, who subject themselves to nature and live conformably to her laws; *summum bonum a Stoicis dicitur convenienter naturae vivere*, Cic. de Off. 3. 3. 12. — **furtim**: *unconsciously.* — **relabor**: *backslide.* As a striking instance of this shifting of view, the difference of tone between Ep. 16 and 17 has been cited.

20. The following eight lines have been well imitated by Pope.

21. **opus debentibus**: those that work by the day, and not by the job.

22. **custodia**: *charge, oversight;* to be distinguished from strict legal guardianship, which could never be exercised by a woman.

24. **naviter**: *actively, earnestly.*

27. **his**: not referring minutely to anything going before, nor yet to things to be mentioned, but to things near the speaker, almost equal to *meis.* — **elementis**: see on S. 1. 1. 26. "In view of the hindrances which prevent me from attaining in full measure philosophic culture, there remains nothing else than that I content myself with the first elements."

28. **Non possis**: parataxis; see on S. 1. 1. 45. — **oculo . . . contendere**: cf. *quantum potero voce contendam ut hoc populus Romanus exaudiat*, Cic. pro Ligar. 3. 6; Lucret. 1. 324. Lynceus was one of the Argonauts, whose eye "was the keenest of all men upon earth," Pind. Nem. 10. 62.

29. **lippus**: cf. S. 1. 5. 30.

30. **Glyconis**: a famous athlete of Pergamus, contemporaneous with Horace. An epigram in his honor was found by Lessing in the Palatine Anthology, VII. 692.

31. **nodosa**: because of chalkstones which formed in the hands and feet of gouty persons. So Ov. ex Pont. 1. 3. 23, *nodosam podagram*, and Pers. 5. 58, *lapidosa cheragra.* — **prohibere**: *to guard*, construed as in Od. 1. 27. 4; so *arcere*, Ep. 1. 8. 10.



32. **quadam . . . tenus**: tmesis.

33. To the physical ills above mentioned Horace adds two examples of mental disease, *avaritia* and *ambitio*, both of which philosophy can cure. The imagery of disease is kept throughout in *fervet, lenire dolorem, morbi*, and *tumes*, just as Cicero renders the Greek πάθη, psychologically used, by *morbi*. For the remedies, also, to make the analogy more exact, he goes back to the days when spells and incantations were more potent than medicine. — **cupidine**: this word is masc. in Horace and Lucretius, always fem. in Vergil, while it varies in Ovid.

34. This line may be an imitation of Eurip. Hipp. 478, *εἰσὶν δ' ἐπῳδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι· φανήσεταί τε τῇσδε φάρμακον νόσου.* The *verba* (λόγοι θελκτήριοι) are magic words, and *voces* (ἐπῳδαί) are incantations, and may include musical tones in general of voice or instrument, for instrumental music was also used to alleviate suffering; cf. Gell. 4. 13. The *verba et voces* by which avarice is to be cured are the teachings of philosophy.

36. **certa piacula**: καθάρματα, *sin offerings*, since diseases were the result of the anger of the gods. The offering is here the study of philosophy; and as the real sin offering demanded previous purification, so these works must be studied with a purified mind (*pure*).

37. **ter . . . lecto**: in threefold repetition there was a peculiar and mystic value; cf. Od. 1. 28. 36; S. 2. 1. 7; Ov. Fast. 41. 313.

38. **amator** = *adulter;* cf. Od. 3. 4. 79, *aliud est amatorem esse, aliud amantem;* Cic. Tusc. 4. 12. 27.

39. **ferus . . . culturae**: the figures are united. Culture is the training of the wild beast and the development of the wild plant.

40. **culturae**: gen. with *patientem;* a dat. for *commodet* is implied in the context. *Cultura* is generally literal, as *agricultura;* it is used here and Ep. 1. 18. 86 figuratively for *cultus;* so Cic. Tusc. 2. 5. 13, *cultura animi philosophia est.* Even in these passages, however, it is active, and does not designate the result of such cultivation, like the English word *culture.* This in Latin is *animi humanitas, urbanitas, eruditio, doctrina, cultus animi;* see Krebs, Antibarbarus.

42. **caruisse**: this is an instance of the so-called aoristic inf., i.e. the inf. used without reference to time to express the simple

idea of the verb; cf. Carm. Saec. 2. 5. Whether this is a conscious imitation of the Greek aorist is uncertain; it may arise from the use of the perf. inf. discussed on S. 2. 8. 79; cf. Quintil. 8. 3. 41, *nam prima virtus est vitio carere.* — **Vides**: ideal second person.

43. **repulsam**: *reiectionem ab honoribus*, Schol. Cruq.; *a political defeat;* cf. Od. 3. 2. 17.

44. **animi capitisque labore**: *strain of soul and risk of life. Labor* is here taken in a double sense, *labore capitis* being equal to *discrimine capitis, vitae periculo.*

45. **extremos**: predicate, *at the end of the earth.* — **curris**: cf. S. 1. 1. 304.

48. **meliori**: masculine.

50. **coronari . . . .Olympia**: acc. of inner object, like *vincere Olympia.* Both expressions are taken from the Greek νικᾶν Ὀλύμπια and στεφανοῦσθαι Ὀλύμπια.

54. **Ianus . . . prodocet**: "this Wall Street teaches from top to bottom." A *medius Ianus* is mentioned S. 2. 3. 18 and Cic. de Off. 2. 24. 87 as the Roman 'Change. There were probably several arches in honor of Janus in the Forum, similar, possibly, to the one still preserved in the Forum Boarium, called *Ianus Quadrifons.* Bentley thinks there was a street of this name where money transactions were carried on.

56. This verse is found in all the Mss. and is a repetition of S. 1. 6. 74, where it is used of boys going to school. Horace seems to have introduced it here as a kind of comparison suggested by *recinunt dictata.* As schoolboys echo back the words of their master, so all repeat this same formula. There are half a dozen instances of a repetition of the same line in Horace.

57. In most of the Mss. v. 58 precedes v. 57. The present arrangement was established by Cruquius, and has been generally adopted. — **animus** = *ingenium;* **mores** = *mores probi;* **lingua** = *facundia.*

58. The equestrian census amounted to 400,000 sesterces, which was about equal at that time to $20,000. When this amount was fixed is not certain, probably during or before the tribuneship of C. Gracchus, 123 B.C. In 67 B.C. the *lex Roscia* was passed, giving to the *equites* the right to occupy the first fourteen rows in the theatre.



59. **At pueri**: Porphyrio gives the line as used by the boys thus: *rex erit qui recte faciet, qui non faciet non erit.* The nature of the game in which it was used is not known. The scholiast on Plato, Theaet. p. 146, remarks that ball-players call the victors kings and the vanquished asses. Horace plays on the word *recte.* As the boys use it, it refers to skillful playing, while Horace applies it to right action.

60. **Hic**: takes its gender from *murus.*

61. **nil conscire**: a new word formed under the influence of *nil sibi conscium esse.*

62. **Roscia . . . lex**: the law of Roscius Otho, trib. pl. in 67 B.C. See on v. 58. — **sodes**: see on S. 1. 9. 41.

63. **nenia**: *jingle, ditty.* In Epod. 17. 29 it means *incantation.*

64. **maribus** = *masculis, manly.* — **Curiis et . . . Camillis**: reference is made to M. Curius Dentatus, who defeated Pyrrhus 275 B.C., and to M. Furius Camillus, the conqueror of the Gauls, 390 B.C. They were standing types of old Roman simplicity and virtue; cf. Od. 1. 12. 41; Cic. pro Cael. 17. 39.

65. **qui**: subject of *suadet* understood, on which the subjunctive *facias* depends. Note the threefold repetition of *rem.*

67. **ut propius spectes**: see on v. 58. Of Pupius nothing is known. Schol. Cruq. quotes the following distich as made by him: *flebant amici et bene noti mortem meam, nam populus in me vivo lacrimavit satis.*

68. **responsare**: *meet boldly, defy;* cf. S. 2. 7. 85, *is responsat, qui adversa aequo animo tolerat,* Acro. The inf. after *hortatur* is poetical for *ut* with the subj., while *aptat* would take *ad* with the gerund.

69. **praesens**: *ever near you.*

71. **porticibus**: colonnades used by the public for lounging and promenading; cf. Ep. 1. 6. 26, *porticus Agrippae.* — **iudiciis**: *views, opinions, judgments.*

73. **volpes**, etc.: this fable is one of Aesop's, but Horace probably took it from Lucilius, who used it in the thirtieth book.

76. **Belua**, etc.: this comparison is as old as Plato, Rep. 9. 588. Wilkins quotes Shakespeare, Coriol. 4. 1. 1, "the beast with many horns butts me away," and Scott, Lady of the Lake, v. 30, "Thou many headed monster thing." Cf. S. 2. 1. 27.

77. **conducere publica**: *to undertake public contracts*, such as the farming of the revenue, building or repairing of temples, draining marshes, dredging rivers, and the like. Cf. Juv. 3. 31.

78. **viduas**: unmarried as well as widowed. — **venentur**, etc.: for a commentary on this verse see introduction to S. 2. 5; see also App.

79. **vivaria**: preserves in which wild game was kept and fattened; also applied to fish-ponds, which had then grown to be so common.

80. **occulto . . . faenore**: not as if this kind of gain were disgraceful and had to be kept secret, but it grew unnoticed and removed from sight of men. One per cent per month was a common rate, though good investments were often as low as 4 or 5 per cent per annum. In Sicily, on the other hand, Verres got 24 per cent, and Brutus 48 per cent in Cyprus. See Marquardt, Handbuch, V. p. 62.

81. **esto**: *granted that, not objecting to this that*, etc.; cf. S. 2. 2. 30.

83. **Bais**: dat. A famous resort between Cumae and Puteoli.

84. **lacus**: i.e. Lucrinus; cf. Od. 2. 15. 3. The rich landlord builds even out into the lake or sea itself; cf. Od. 3. 1. 33.

85. **cui**, etc.: *to whom if morbid caprice may have spoken the word.* This caprice is in the eyes of the rich man an expression of the will of heaven, therefore *fecerit auspicium;* cf. Verg. Aen. 9. 185, *an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?*

86. **Teanum**: an inland town of Campania, some thirty miles from *Baiae.*

87. **tolletis** = *tollite.* The *lectus genialis* was placed in the *atrium*, and was sacred to the Genius or the Genii of the house, who were to secure offspring. This *lectus* was simply symbolical, but probably in earlier days the *atrium* was occupied as bedroom as well as place for the general gathering of the family, Preller, Röm. Mythol. II. p. 196. — **aula** is a more pretentious term than *atrium;* cf. Od. 2. 10. 8.

90. **Protea**: see Class. Dict., and cf. S. 2. 3. 71.

91. The poor man is as inconstant as the rich. — **cenacula**: *lodgings.* The word meant originally *dining-room;* then, as these were placed in the upper part of the house, it was applied to all upper rooms, Varro, L. L. 5. 162. These garrets were the rooms of the poor.



92. **balnea**, etc.: the poor man frequents the public bathing-places, where he pays a *quadrans* (a quarter of an as), and the barbers' shops; while the rich man has these things in his own house. Scipio Africanus (probably the Elder) is said to have been the first to bring daily shaving into fashion; it continued to be the general practice till Hadrian's time. It is strange that no razors have been found in Pompeii.

93. **nauseat**: this is not logically the principal idea, but is thrust in the foreground to heighten the comic effect. The poor man seeks change just as the rich man, and though he has no trireme of his own, yet he hires a boat and goes through the same motions as the nabob in his private yacht.

> "They hire the sculler, and when once aboard,
> Grow sick — and damn the climate — like a lord." Pope.

94. **inaequali tonsore**: *bungling barber;* instrumental abl. Rome's first barber is said to have come from Sicily in 300 B.C.

95. **subucula**: a woollen shirt worn under the tunic; cf. Varro quoted by Nonius, p. 542, *postquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt, instituerunt vocare subuculam et indusium.* — **pexae**: literally *combed*, that is, *with the nap on*, and so *new;* cf. Mart. 2. 58. 1.

96. Great care was taken in arranging the folds of the toga; see Becker, Gallus, III. p. 199 ff. The opposite of *dissidet impar* is *aequaliter sedet*, Quint. 11. 3. 141.

99. **aestuat**: *vacillates;* taken from the sea, which rises and falls under every influence; cf. Cic. Verr. 2. 30, *itaque aestuabat dubitatione.* — **disconvenit**: *is discordant.* The figure is musical. For the opposite, cf. Ep. 2. 2. 144.

100. **mutat quadrata rotundis**: this expression seems to be proverbial.

101. **Insanire . . . sollemnia**: *rave the common follies, am a fool like the rest; sollemnia* is inner acc.; cf. *Olympia*, v. 50. — **neque rides**: "You do not laugh at such inconsistencies; for like the Stoic you regard these as instances of the prevalent *insania*, from which only the wise man is free." Putting Maecenas in this philosophical attitude, so foreign to his real nature, has a touch of irony in it, and prepares the way for the conclusion, *ad summam*, etc.

103. **a praetore dati**: such a guardian was appointed by the

praetor, in case there were no relatives to whose care he could be committed. — **tutela** = *tutor;* cf. *praesidium*, Od. 1. 1. 2.

104. **cum**: concessive. — **unguem**: the care of the nails was an important part of the toilet, and was one of the barber's duties.

105. **respicientis**: here used as an inferior toward a superior, generally expressed by *suspicio;* but cf. Caes. B. C. 1. 1, *sin Caesarem respiciant atque eius gratiam sequantur;* also Bell. Afr. 85. The usual meaning of *respicio*, "regard of a superior toward an inferior," appears Od. 1. 2. 36.

106. **Ad summam**, etc.: "Finally, the wise man alone is rich, free, and perfect." — **uno minor est Iove**: and this only in degree, not in kind; cf. Sen. Ep. 73. 12. Shuckburgh quotes from Zeller, Stoics and Epicureans, p. 253, "The wise man only is free, because he alone uses his own will and controls himself; alone beautiful, because only virtue is beautiful and attractive; alone rich and happy, because goods of the soul are the most valuable, and true riches consist in being independent of wants. . . . The wise alone know how to obey, and they also know how to govern; they only, therefore, are kings, generals, pilots."

108. **sanus** has here a double meaning, including both *sane*, and so free from the *insania* of the masses, and also *in good health*. — **pituita** has here three syllables, as in S. 2. 2. 76. It denotes an inflamed state of a mucous membrane; in S. 2. 2. 76 it indicates a trouble of the stomach; here and in Catull. 23. 17 it means a cold. An inscription preserved in Pompeii (*pituita me tenet*) informs the world that a similar affliction was troubling some nameless writer; cf. Epictet. 1. 6. 30.

## EPISTLE II.

This Epistle is a fatherly exhortation, addressed to a young friend, in praise of wisdom and serious reflection, — in a word, philosophy.

Argument: While you, Lollius, are practising declamation at Rome, I have been reviewing Homer, from whom I gather better instruction than from the philosophers themselves (1–5). The Iliad is a mirror of human passion and folly, the Odyssey furnishes



a picture of the power of wisdom and virtue (5–26). Most of us, however, see ourselves depicted, not in the character of Ulysses, but in the suitors of Penelope and the effeminate Phaeacians (27–31). To avoid such degeneracy, you must be watchful, diligent, earnest (32–43); learn to use the goods of life as servants, not masters; then you can enjoy them properly (44–54). Avoid passion, envy, lust, and avarice (55–63). Youth is the time for forming good habits; the flavor of the first wine lingers longest in the jar (64–70).

The person addressed is Lollius Maximus, probably the one to whom Ep. 1. 18 is directed. He seems to have been a son of that Lollius (Cos. 21 B.C.) to whom Horace afterwards dedicated Od. 4. 9, and may have been the father of Lollia Paulina, who was married to Caligula in the year 38 A.D. The date of the eighteenth Epistle is 20 B.C., so that this one must fall several years earlier.

1. **Maxime**: when the *praenomen* is omitted, the *cognomen* is often placed before the *nomen*. This is the prevailing usage in Cicero, while Horace and Livy vary. Cf. Od. 2. 2. 3; 2. 11. 2; Ep. 1. 8. 1.

2. **declamas**: the usual word for the exercises of the rhetorical schools, which were kept up by many after school days were over. — **Praeneste**: this is the form of the abl., as in *Reate*, *Soracte*, *Tergeste;* cf. *gausape*, S. 2. 8. 11. Praeneste, now Palestrina, was an elevated, cool retreat (cf. Od. 3. 4. 23), about twenty-three miles southeast of Rome.

3. **pulchrum**: καλόν — **utile**: συμφέρον — the two categories of the καθῆκον; cf. Cic. de Off. 1. 3. 9.

4. **planius**: in contrast with the obscurity of the philosophers. — **dicit**: as poet, not *docet*, as a professional teacher. Chrysippus, of Soli in Cilicia, born 280 B.C., was called the second founder of Stoicism, and is said to have written more than seven hundred books. Crantor was also born at Soli, about 350 B.C. He belonged to the Academy, and was the first who wrote commentaries on Plato's works. His treatise περὶ πένθους (*de luctu*) was highly valued, and was used by Cicero; cf. Acad. pr. 2. 44. 135; Tusc. 3. 6. 12.

7. **barbariae**: dat. after *collisa*. It is used of any foreign coun-

try, except Greece, but with especial frequency of Phrygia and the Trojans; cf. Epod. 9. 6; Od. 2. 4. 9. — **duello**: an archaic form, used in a number of places by Horace; as Ep. 2. 1. 254; 2. 2. 98; Od. 3. 5. 38; 3. 14. 18; 4. 15. 8. Initial *du* gives *b* in Latin, as **duis > bis; duonus > bonus.*

8. **aestus**: cf. *aestuat*, Ep. 1. 1. 99.

9. **Antenor**: Il. 7. 345 ff. — **praecidere**: *censeo* takes either the pres. inf., the gerundial inf., or a cl. with *ut* or *ne*.

10. **quid Paris**: a rhetorical question, as *quid pauper*, Ep. 1. 1. 91. Paris will not be forced to give Helen up. The effect of this, if he had done it, would have been his own peace and happiness; so Horace sharply puts it, "even by force he persisted in bringing misery on himself," thus illustrating the folly of kings, as mentioned above; see App.

11. **Nestor**: Il. A 247 ff.

12. **inter . . . inter**: the preposition is repeated, as S. 1. 7. 11; cf. Cic. de Am. 95.

13. **hunc**: Agamemnon, whose love for Chryseis (Il. A 112) causes him to seek consolation by taking Briseis from Achilles. — **urit**: appropriate both for love and anger; cf. Od. 1. 19. 5; S. 1. 9. 66.

14. **plectuntur**: by the pestilence and in the contests which take place while Achilles is sulking; cf. S. 2. 7. 105.

15. **Seditione**: Thersites, Il. B 212. — **dolis**: Pandarus, Il. Δ 134.

17. **Rursus**: *on the other hand.* — **possit**: for a discussion of the sequence of tenses after a pure perf., see Class. Rev. III. p. 6.

18. **exemplar**: *model*. The Stoics especially regarded Ulysses in this light.

19–22. A free translation of the opening of the Odyssey, as A. P. 141. 2.

22. **immersabilis**: probably coined by Horace to imitate ἀβάπτιστος.

23. **Sirenum voces**: Od. μ 39 ff. and 154–200. — **Circae pocula**: Od. κ 230.

24. **cum sociis**: "as did his companions." Ulysses drank of Circe's cup, but not *stultus cupidusque (with foolish greed)*. Hermes supplied him with an antidote which rendered the potion harmless.



25. **turpis**: indicating both moral and physical deformity, often used as descriptive of licentiousness; cf. S. 1. 4. 11; Od. 1. 33. 9. — **et excors vixisset**: cf. *vivat beatus*, v. 10. The heart is the seat of the reason, as in Cic. Tusc. 1. 9. 18. Horace, both here and in Epod. 17. 17, differs from Homer, who says their reason was not lost: νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ, Od. κ 239.

26. **canis**: the symbol of impurity. Homer says nothing of dogs in this connexion.

27. **Nos**: we ordinary men find our Homeric parallel in the suitors of Penelope and the lazy swarms of the Phaeacians. — **numerus**: *a mere cipher*, used as ἀριθμός in Greek. — **fruges consumere nati**: poetic use of inf. instead of *ad* with the gerundive. The phrase seems to be a distortion of the Homeric βροτοὶ οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν, Il. Z 142, which he uses as opposed to the μάκαρες θεοί.

29. **in cute curanda**: the picture of the Phaeacian youth is drawn not so much from Homer (Od. θ 248), as from the moralizing criticisms of the Greek philosophers. There is nothing in Homer to justify v. 30 and 31. With *cute curanda* cf. S. 2. 5. 38; Ep. 1. 4. 15. The care of the outer (*cutis*) is at the expense of the inner man.

31. **ad strepitum**, etc.: the connexion of this verse with what follows shows that Horace is speaking of undue indulgence in sleep. Those who sleep till midday have to coax slumber the following evening. — **cessatum** has the force of a perf. act., *qui cessavit;* cf. *in arvis cessatis*, Ov. Fast. 4. 617; *moram cessataque tempora*, Met. 10. 669; *cessata per sidera*, Aetna, 68. For *ducere, entice*, cf. Epod. 14. 3; see App.

32. **de nocte**: cf. *de die potare*, Od. 1. 1. 20.

33. **Atqui**, etc.: the proposition introduced by *atqui* is, strictly speaking, *ni posces . . . torquebere*, while *si noles . . . curres* is merely a comparison.

34. **ni . . . si non**: these expressions are here equivalent. "If a negative conditional clause is used to designate an action as one which must be done to avoid certain disadvantages expressed in the thesis, the clause is almost always introduced by *nisi;* by *si non* only in case the sufferer of the penalty and the doer of the action are different, or the persons referred to are indefinite. In

this construction, both in anteclassical and classical authors, *ni* is also used." Fischer, Lat. Gr. II. p. 706.

35. **posces**: *call for;* see on S. 1. 6. 122. The Roman lucubrations were at the end, not at the beginning, of the night. Pliny says his uncle used sometimes to rise at midnight for study, Ep. 3. 5. 29.

37. **torquebere**: *you will be racked.*

39. **est**: *corrodes.* — **in annum**: *till next year.*

40. **Dimidium**, etc.: a Greek proverb, ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἡμισυ παντός.

41. **recte**: for the position cf. *vivere si recte nescis*, Ep. 2. 2. 213.

42. **rusticus**, etc.: Horace's comparisons are generally compressed; cf. Ep. 1. 7. 74.

43. The flowing of the river is well described in the alliteration of the liquids, the feminine caesura, and the preponderance of dactyls.

44. **argentum**. *money;* cf. S. 1. 1. 86. — **beata**: *rich;* cf. Od. 1. 4. 14; S. 2. 8. 1. — **creandis** = *procreandis*, as in Od. 4. 2. 29.

45. **pacantur**: *are subdued.*

46. **contingit**: present, as in Ep. 1. 15. 44; 1. 4. 10.

50. **bene**: *to his satisfaction.*

52. **ut lippum**, etc.: "To him who is a slave to greed or avarice, possessions give no more pleasure than fine pictures to one afflicted with sore eyes, warm wraps to a gouty patient, or the strains of the harp to deaf ears."

56. **voto**: dative, *to thy desire.*

57. **macrescit**: compare for the same sentiment, S. 1. 1. 10. — **rebus opimis**: Kiessling takes it as abl. abs., but it is better to construe with *macrescit* as an abl. of cause, *grows lean on, pines away over.*

58. **Siculi . . . tyranni**: as Phalaris (570 B.C.) or the two Dionysii (405 B.C., 367 B.C.). Phalaris had a brazen bull into which his victims were put and roasted to death.

60. **dolor . . . et mens**: *indignation and passion;* cf. Verg. Aen. 1. 48, *quidve dolens regina deum*, etc., and *compesce mentem*, Od. 1. 16. 22.

61. **poenas . . . festinat**: *hastily seeks vengeance.* — **odio**: dative.

62. **furor**: cf. *quidam itaque ex sapientibus viris iram dixerunt brevem insaniam*, Sen. de Ira, 1. 1. — **animum**: in same sense as *mens*, v. 60.



64. **Fingit**: used in the same sense by Varius in Macrob. 6. 2. 20.

65. **qua**: cf. *pedites (iussit) qua dux monstraret viam ire*, Liv. 32. 11. — **venaticus**, etc.: the training of the hunter's dog begins early with stuffing a stag's skin and placing it before him in the court.

66. **latravit**: with acc. as *allatravit*. Cf. Epod. 5. 58; S. 2. 1. 85. — **aula**: the court for cattle, not as in Ep. 1. 1. 87.

67. **Nunc . . . puer**: i.e. *dum puer es*, as Od. 1. 9. 16.

68. **verba**: *words of wisdom.* — **melioribus**: better taken as neuter, meaning the study of philosophy as opposed to the rhetorical studies in which Lollius was then engaged.

69. "Whatever juice the virgin cask imbue,
It keeps the savour which it drank while new." Howes.

This same figure is found in Philo and a letter of Jerome's.

70. **Quodsi**, etc.: "And now my sermon is preached. Do as you please, I shall pursue the even tenor of my way." Horace very often surprises the reader by his startling conclusion; see on S. 2. 8. 95. The epistle closes with a word of praise for that moderation which he so highly prizes.

## EPISTLE IV.

In spite of Baehrens's arguments to the contrary (Tibullische Blätter), it can hardly be doubted that the person addressed here, as well as in Od. 1. 33, was Albius Tibullus, the elegiac poet. Tibullus was some ten years younger than Horace, and died in the same year as Vergil, 19 B.C. From the present letter it appears that he had an ancestral estate near Pedum (v. 2). Though part of his property had been confiscated during the civil wars, yet he seems still to be in comfortable circumstances (v. 7). Horace had heard nothing from him for some time, and so sends him this charming letter, inquiring as to his doings, cheering him in his loneliness, and inviting him to visit him whenever he feels the need of recreation. There is no clue to the date of this epistle,

but as he speaks of Tibullus as the critic only of his Satires, we may not place the time of composition later than 23 B.C., the date of publication of the first three books of the Odes.

1. **Albi**: this is the *nomen;* Tibullus's *praenomen* is unknown. — **sermonum**: this refers only to Horace's Satires, and would seem to indicate that Horace had published them with that title. Where he uses the word again, however, Ep. 2. 1. 250, it certainly may well include the Epistles. The testimony of the Mss. and the scholiasts is for *sermones* as the title of the Satires; see Introduction, p. xiii. — **candide**: *impartial;* cf. *candide Maecenas*, Epod. 14. 5 and S. 1. 10. 86. — **iudex**: like *iudicium*, properly applied to critics. When or how Tibullus had criticised Horace's Satires is not known.

2. **in regione Pedana**: named from an old Latin town, Pedum, between Tibur and Praeneste (Liv. 8. 13). Porphyrio says, (*oppidum*) *nunc non est, verum adhuc regio ipsa Pedana dicitur.*

3. **Cassi Parmensis**: Cassius of Parma, so called to distinguish him from Cassius Longinus, the murderer of Caesar. He, too, was one of the conspirators against Caesar. As commander of a division of the Republican fleet, he writes a letter (43 B.C.) to Cicero from the coast of Asia (Fam. 12. 13). After the battle of Philippi, he fought under Sextus Pompey, and later joined Antony. Suetonius (Aug. 4) quotes a passage from a virulent letter which he wrote to Augustus. After the battle of Actium he fled to Athens, where he was killed by Q. Attius Varus at the command of Augustus. Of his literary activity little is known. Porphyrio says he wrote many tragedies. Quintilian (5. 11. 24) quotes an iambic line from him. Schol. Cruq. says, *hic aliquot generibus stilum exercuit, inter quae opera elegi et epigrammata laudantur.* He is sometimes confounded with Cassius Etruscus; see on S. 1. 10. 61.

4. **salubris**: Tibullus seems to have been rather watchful of his health, and death was often in his thoughts.

6. **Non tu corpus eras**: "you were not formerly a body without a soul."

7. **divitias**: in the confiscations of the triumvirs (41 B.C.), Tibullus seems to have suffered in common with Vergil and Propertius, but at this time he was certainly in comfortable circumstances, possibly through the assistance of Messala; cf. Tib. 1. 1. 77. — **dederunt**: see on S. 1. 10. 45.



8. **nutricula**: the affection, as well as the extravagant and often hurtful prayers of foster-mothers was proverbial; cf. Pers. 2. 29; Sen. Ep. 60. — **maius**: the second member of the comparison is suppressed; "than he enjoys who, etc."

9. **sapere**, etc.: *to think wisely and fitly express his thoughts.*

10. **gratia**: *favor, popularity;* such as Tibullus enjoyed in relation to Messala, or Horace in relation to Maecenas. — **contingat**: pres., as in Ep. 1. 2. 46; such blessings are renewed day by day.

11. **mundus victus**: *the comforts of life;* a happy mean between *sordidus* and *luxuriosus*, opposed to *immunda pauperies*, Ep. 2. 2. 199.

12. **Inter**: *amidst. Spes* is the hope of future good, *cura* the care demanded by the present; just as *timor* expresses the fear of future, and *irae* the anger over past wrongs.

13. **diluxisse**: the light of morning breaks through (*dilucet*) the darkness of night.

14. **grata**, etc.: cf. Od. 1. 9. 14, *quem fors dierum cumque dabit lucro adpone.*

15. **Me**: the emphatic position marks the change in subject; "As for me, here I am, fat, sleek, in good condition, a pig of Epicurus's drove, as you'll see for yourself, if you'll come and visit me some time when your sides need shaking." — **pinguem**: so Suetonius describes Horace as *habitu corporis brevis fuit atque obesus.* — **vises**: the fut. bears an invitation.

16. **grege**: a word commonly applied to schools of philosophy; cf. Cic. Or. 1. 10. 42; S. 2. 3. 44. — **porcum**: the followers of Epicurus (342-271 B.C.) were not infrequently charged with kinship to swine; cf. *Epicure noster, ex hara producte non ex schola*, Cic. in Pis. 16. 37. The last two lines of self-caricature are meant to bring a smile to Tibullus's face.

## EPISTLE VII.

Horace had left Rome in August, promising Maecenas that he would return in a few days. As he remained absent, however, the whole month, Maecenas wrote him a letter which called forth this plain response from Horace.

I admit that I have been false to my promise, yet regard for my health, which you will surely respect, prevents me from returning to Rome during the sickly season. When winter comes, too, I shall go to the sea-shore, so that I shall not see you again till spring (1–13). But do not think me ungrateful. I value your kindness, for you have not, as the Calabrian host in the story, given me what was worthless to yourself (14–24). But if you wish me to remain by your side as constant as of old, give me back my youthful strength (24–27). Listen to a story. I am not like the mouse that stuffed himself so full that he could not retreat through the hole by which he had entered. I am ready to give back what I have received, like Telemachus of old (27–44). The story of Philippus and Maenas teaches that a change even to a higher mode of living is not always best, and may bring misery instead of happiness. He who finds himself in such a condition shows his wisdom by returning at once to his former state (45–95).

The manly tone of this epistle shows Horace's character in a most favorable light, and it is equally to the credit of Maecenas that he allowed it to be published. He had received too many proofs of Horace's devotion to be offended at this expression of an independent spirit. The date of the epistle cannot be determined. Kiessling assumes 21 B.C.

1. **Quinque dies**: used indefinitely, *about a week;* cf. S. 1. 3. 16. — **rure**: this form is quite common after Cicero, even when used without an adjective, and occurs again Ep. 1. 14. 10. Praeneste, Tibur, and the Sabine farm have been suggested as the place of the retreat.

2. **Sextilem**: the name *Augustus* was first used 8 B.C., Dio Cass. 55. 7. Suetonius says that Octavius chose the month of August, rather than that of his birth (September), because in it he had



first obtained the consulship and won his greatest victories. — **mendax**: such open self-reproach is a strong plea for pardon. See App.

3. **sanum recteque valentem**: *in good health;* cf. Ep. 1. 16. 21.

4. **aegrotare**: the infinitive has the same force as a *ne* clause; see on S. 2. 5. 65. That Horace had actually been sick is not necessarily implied.

5. **dum ficus**, etc.: the fig ripens at Rome the latter part of August or in September, and this season is here alluded to as the most sickly time of the year; cf. *autumnus gravis*, S. 2. 6. 19.

6. **dissignatorem**: the manager of some elaborate funeral. His numerous attendants gave him an air of importance; hence they are called lictors, and hence the use of the word *decorat*.

7. **matercula**: *fond mother;* the diminutive indicates tenderness.

8. **officiosaque sedulitas**: the conscientious discharge of all social or political duties, such as the *salutatio*, *deductio in forum*, attendance at recitations, weddings, funerals, or the assumption of the *toga virilis*, etc. *Sedulitas* is derived from the adj. *sedulus*, which comes from the adv. *sedulo* = *se* (*sine*) *dulo* or *dolo*, i.e. *sine dolo malo*. — **opella**: *petty business;* the diminutive has a contemptuous force. He might be called on to act as *sponsor* (S. 2. 6. 23) or *testis* (S. 1. 9. 76).

9. **resignat**: wills were generally written on waxen tablets, which were tied and sealed by the testator and his witnesses. On the death of the testator the witnesses acknowledged their seals, whereupon the thread was cut and the will opened.

10. **Quodsi**: used with a temporal force; cf. use of *si*, S. 2. 3. 10. — **bruma**: see on S. 2. 6. 25. — **Albanis . . . agris**: Cicero calls the Alban mountains *nivales*, de Div. 1. 18.

11. **ad mare**: perhaps Velia or Tarentum; from v. 45 it has been inferred that Horace was now at Tibur, and intended afterwards to go to Tarentum. — **vates tuus**: possibly copying a term that Maecenas had used of Horace.

12. **contractus**: this has been variously interpreted as *quietly*, *in retirement*, *frugally*, *huddled up so as to escape the cold*. The first interpretation is preferable; cf. Verg. Moretum, 77; Sen. de Tranq. An. 9. The announcement of the long separation is softened by such expressions as *vates tuus*, *dulcis amice*, *si concedes*.

13. **cum Zephyris**: the zephyrs are the *comites veris*, Od. 4. 12. 1, and the swallow is called by Ovid *praenuntia veris*, Fast. 2. 853.

14. **Non quo more**, etc.: "do not think me in this ungrateful. If I were so, I should indeed be without excuse, for your kindness to me has been great and genuine." The story of the Calabrian may be a reminiscence of Horace's boyhood.

15. **Vescere sodes**: *help yourself, if you please.* For *sodes* see on S. 1. 9. 41.

16. **Benigne**: sc. *agis; you are very kind*, implying, "*No, I thank you*"; cf. κάλλιστα, *merci, ich danke.*

17. **pueris**: *children*, as v. 7.

> "Your boys won't like you less
> For taking home a sack of them, I guess." Con.

18. **Tam teneor**: *I'm as much obliged.*

22. **dignis**: that is, *merentibus*, as S. 1. 6. 51. — **paratus**: nominative after inf., a Greek construction, found also Od. 3. 27. 73; Catull. 4. 2; Verg. Aen. 2. 377.

23. **lupinis**: beans were sometimes used as money in games and on the stage; cf. Plaut. Poen. 597.

24. **pro laude**: *in accord with the fame of my benefactor.* — **merentis** has the force of *bene merentis;* cf. Prop. 5. 11. 101, *sim digna merendo.*

25. **reddes**: with imperative force, as *dabis*, v. 4; *repetes*, v. 33. The threefold repetition of *reddes* has a pathetic echo.

26. **forte latus**: "*my sturdy sides,*" Con. Used as general indication of youthful strength, without any particular reference to lungs or voice. — **angusta**: because of the thick front hair. The *tenuis frons* (Od. 1. 33. 5) is the mark of youth. Horace's hair was falling out in front, and getting gray. In Ep. 1. 20. 24 he calls himself *praecanus.*

27. **dulce**: inner acc., having almost an attributive force. The inf., both as subject and object, was very much extended under Greek influence. It could follow a preposition, like the Greek articular inf. (see on S. 2. 5. 69); it could take an adjective, generally a pronoun, as its modifier. Persius has (1. 9) *nostrum istud vivere triste*, while Seneca, Ep. 101. 13, limits such an inf. by a genitive, as *quid autem huius vivere est?*



28. **Cinarae**: Cinara was perhaps the only one of Horace's flames that he really loved; cf. Od. 4. 1. 4; 4. 13. 21; Ep. 1. 14. 33.

29. **nitedula**: see App.

30. **cumeram**: see on S. 1. 1. 53.

32. **mustela**: the weasel would naturally be interested in the movements of the mouse, as they took the place of cats among the ancients. See on S. 2. 6. 114. — **procul**: does not always denote a great distance; see on S. 2. 6. 105. Its original force seems to be "off," whether near or far, and it is closely related to *proximus*, a superlative of **procus*, which appears in the compound *reciprocus.* See Greenough, Harvard Studies, I. p. 93.

33. **cavum**: masculine, as in S. 2. 6. 116.

34. **resigno**: used of repaying a loan, or any debt; cf. Od. 3. 29. 54.

35. **nec**, etc.: "I am in earnest. I am not one who praises simplicity while enjoying luxury." — **somnum plebis**: the sweet sleep that visits the poor man's hut, and often shuns the pampered inmates of the palace; cf. Od. 3. 1. 21. — **satur altilium**: *sated with dainties; altiles* is especially applied to fattened fowls; see Mayor on Juv. 5. 115.

36. **Arabum**: the riches of Arabia were proverbial; cf. Od. 1. 29. 1; 3. 24. 1; Ep. 1. 6. 6.

37. **saepe . . . laudasti**, etc.: "You know my disposition. You have yourself often praised my modesty and self-reliance, and though my acknowledgments have been most sincere, yet I am ready to do what I say." — **rex . . . pater**: these are expressions of respect and veneration. *Rex* was often applied to a patron; cf. Ep. 1. 17. 43.

38. **audisti** = *vocatus es;* cf. S. 2. 6. 20.

39. **si possum**: this use of the indicative is archaic and colloquial; cf. *visam si domi est*, Ter. Heaut. 170. For examples of the subjunctive in Horace, see S. 2. 5. 7; Ep. 1. 17. 4; 2. 1. 164.

40. The following lines are a paraphrase of Od. δ 601 ff. Menelaus speeds the parting Telemachus with a gift, a handsome goblet, "three sprightly coursers, and a polished car." The horses are rejected by Telemachus for the reasons here given. — **patientis**: πολύτλας. — **Ulixei**: cf. Ep. 1. 6. 63. The form here used occurs Od. 1. 6. 7; Epod. 16. 60; 17. 16.

44. **regia**: in Od. 4. 14. 44 called *domina;* see on S. 1. 5. 1.

45. **vacuum**: *quiet; vacuum a turba et negotiis et officiis, plenum tranquilitatis,* Dillenburger.

46. The story that follows shows that presents are not always a blessing. L. Marcius Philippus, an orator second only to Crassus and Antonius, was consul 91 B.C. and leader of the opposition to the reforms of Drusus. He was a lover of luxury, and his fish-ponds are mentioned by Varro. His activity (*strenuus*) and boldness (*fortis*) were well known. His son, L. Marcius Philippus, married Atia, widow of C. Octavius, and so became the step-father of Augustus.

47. **octavam . . . horam**: he leaves off his official labors about the eighth hour, so as to be ready for the *cena* at the ninth hour.

48. **Carinas**: this was a fashionable quarter of the city, lying in the fourth *regio*. It was a part of the Esquiline, and is said to have been called *Carinae* because, when viewed from the Palatine, it presented the outline of a ship's keel. Pompey, Q. Cicero, Tiberius, and other prominent persons had residences in that quarter.

50. **adrasum**: *adradere* is used of the person, *abradere* of the beard. From time immemorial barber-shops have been the place for loungers, though at this late hour most of the customers had gone; see on Ep. 1. 1. 92 and 94. See article by Nicolson in Harvard Studies, II. p. 41 ff. — **umbra** = *taberna*.

51. The leisurely composure of the man, as he sat there paring his own nails, a service usually performed by the barber, excites the interest of Philippus.

52. **puer**: not necessarily a young man. — **non laeve** = *dextere*. This is the only example of this adverb.

53. **abi, quaere et refer**: to this corresponds *it, redit et narrat* below. The last two members are united into one unit. — **unde domo**: so Verg. Aen. 8. 114, *qui genus? unde domo?*

54. **patre quove patrono**: i.e. whether *ingenuus* or *libertus*.

55. **Volteium . . . Menam**: the name alone answers several questions. It shows that he is of foreign extraction, the freedman of one Volteius. The name Μηνᾶς is an abbreviation of Μηνόδοτος or Μηνόδωρος.

56. **praeconem**: see v. 65, *an auctioneer.* — **sine crimine**: *of honest fame.*



57. **properare**: "who was accustomed, as all well know, to labor or lounge, to make or spend, each in its proper time;" the inf. depends on *notum;* cf. Ep. 1. 15. 30; A. P. 163. — **loco**: cf. *dulce est desipere in loco*, Od. 4. 12. 28.

58. **lare certo**: *his own abode;* for the opposite, cf. Ep. 1. 15. 28.

59. **ludis**: the theatres and the circus. — **campo**: the Campus Martius, the favorite place for gymnastic exercises and games of ball.

60. The curiosity of Philippus is still more excited by this recital, and he determines to learn more of this stranger. — **Scitari**: a poetic form for *sciscitari*.

61. **Non sane**: strengthened negation, as S. 2. 3. 138.

63. **improbus**: *the impudent fellow.* The word *improbus* takes its meaning almost entirely from the connexion in which it stands.

64. **neglegit aut horret**: *is indifferent or perhaps he hesitates through bashfulness.*

65. **vilia . . . scruta**: *cheap trumpery.* — **tunicato . . . popello**: *to the shirt-sleeved rabble. Popello* is used with contempt, and was probably a word taken from the streets. It is used afterwards by Pers. 4. 15. The toga was not generally worn by the working classes, save on special occasions.

66. **occupat**: *takes unawares;* cf. S. 1. 9. 6. — **salvere iubet**: *and greets him first;* cf. Ep. 1. 10. 1.

67. **excusare**: *offers as his excuse.* — **mercennaria vincla**: *his hireling fetters;* cf. S. 1. 6. 87.

68. **quod non**, etc.: Mena knew the demands of social etiquette, that as a *libertinus* he was expected, after so kind an invitation, to appear at the morning *salutatio;* at least, as an inferior, he should have first greeted Philippus.

69. **Sic . . . si**: "The repetition in the apodosis of the word which in the protasis forms the conditional particle is a survival from the days of parataxis," Richardson, Harvard Studies, I. p. 156. *Sic* is *si* + *ce*, a demonstrative particle, and the use here may, as Schmalz (Lat. Gr. § 295) suggests, have been the original construction, like our *so . . . as;* German *so . . . so*. *Si* corresponds to *tum*, Liv. 22. 53. 11; to *ita*, Cic. de Sen. 11; to *sic*, as here, in Vitruv. 1. 2. 7.

70. **Ut libet**: *at your service.*

71. **nonam**: from this is derived our word *noon*. — **venies**: fut. of invitation, as Ep. 1. 4. 15. — **nunc i**: not = *abi*, but an exhortation, like the Greek ἴθι δή.

72. **dicenda tacenda**: "anything and everything."

73. **dormitum dimittitur**: he is not allowed to depart till bedtime. Orelli's supposition that Menas was ignorant of the rules of politeness, and had to be reminded that it was time to depart, is uncalled for. The preceding incidents serve only to place the characters before us in a vivid light; now follows the narrative proper.

74. **piscis**: a comparison is condensed into a metaphor; cf. Ep. 1. 2. 42.

76. **rura**: construed just as the name of a town. — **indictis . . . Latinis**: at the time for the celebration of the Latin games. The *feriae Latinae* dated from very ancient times, and were held on Mt. Alba, in commemoration of the Latin alliance. The purpose was both religious and political. From the time of Tarquinius Superbus the Romans took the lead in the celebration, until finally it became an exclusively Roman festival. It was not one of the fixed festivals (*statae* or *stativae*), but was one of those whose time of celebration was appointed by the magistrates (*conceptivae*). It was usually celebrated in April, lasted four days, and was a legal holiday of which busy men, like Philippus, often took advantage in order to enjoy some rural excursion.

77. **Impositus mannis**: probably not on horseback, but riding in a chariot drawn by Gallic ponies; cf. S. 2. 6. 42. This form of expression is Homeric, and is imitated by the Augustan poets; e.g. Verg. Aen. 12. 736, *iunctos conscendebat equos;* cf. also Ov. Her. 2. 80: *manni* is a Celtic word; see on S. 1. 6. 104. They were a popular species of carriage horses; cf. Od. 3. 27. 7.

78. **non cessat laudare**: like a child with a new toy, Menas is so delighted with everything that he finally tires Philip, who, to cut the matter short and indulge at the same time his fondness for a joke, proposes to furnish him with money to buy a small farm.

80. **septem . . . sestertia**: fourteen thousand sesterces could buy only a very small farm. Columella reckoned the average price as one thousand sesterces per *iugerum*.

83. **ex nitido**: sc. *urbano; from a spruce city-chap.*



84. **mera**: chatter nothing but furrows and vineyards. The vineyards were planted in regular rows, in form of a *quincunx*, and trained to elm trees. Very elaborate directions as to the manner of planting vineyards may be found in Verg. Georg. 2. 259 ff.

85. **immoritur studiis**: *he works himself to death over his plans. Studiis* is dat., as Quintil. 9. 3. 73, *immori legationi.* — **senescit**: cf. *insenuit libris et curis*, Ep. 2. 2. 82. According to our ideas, this intense mercantile spirit should rather have been fostered by his former business.

86. **capellae**: goats were especially subject to diseases; cf. *capras sanas sanus nemo promittit. numquam enim sine febri sunt*, Varro, R. R. 2. 3. 5.

88. **caballum**: see on S. 1. 6. 59. He starts in the middle of the night, so as to appear at the morning *salutatio*.

90. **scabrum intonsumque**: in striking contrast with his first appearance to Philippus, v. 50.

91. **attentus**: so the mouse, in S. 2. 6. 82, is *attentus quaesitis*.

92. **Pol**: *Pol* and *edepol* were forms of oaths generally preferred by men; *ecastor* and *mecastor* by women.

94. **Quod**: is an inner acc., adverbial in force. It joins the request itself to the ground on which it is made; cf. Verg. Aen. 11. 141; Ter. Andr. 1. 5. 54. — **per Genium**: "the tutelary deity or guardian angel, who was supposed to attend on every individual from the cradle to the grave. In character it was the reflex of the man; it might be humored or appeased by proper attention, more especially by sacrifice, or irritated and made baneful by neglect," Pretor, quoted by Gildersleeve, Pers. 2. 3. The *genius*, in a word, is a man's good spirit. The right hand, as the symbol of faith, and the household gods, that stood for the sanctity of the home, are fitly included in the adjuration. For other references in Horace, see Ep. 2. 2. 187; 2. 1. 144; A. P. 210.

98. **verum est**: *is the right thing;* cf. S. 2. 3. 312.

## EPISTLE IX.

This is a letter addressed to Tiberius, the step-son of Augustus, though not at this time his prospective successor, in behalf of Septimius. The letter itself is a model of delicacy and grace. Horace

repudiates any appearance of undue familiarity (v. 1 and 6). He has only consented to write the letter after much persuasion (v. 2 and 7), does not presume to anticipate the result of his request (*coner*, v. 3), and indeed would not have written it at all, had it not been that a refusal would have seemed to minify his acquaintance with Tiberius from selfish designs (8–11).

This Septimius is probably the one addressed so cordially, Od. 2. 6. It has been assumed that Septimius desired to accompany Tiberius in his expedition to the east, when he was sent by Augustus to place Tigranes on the throne of Armenia (20 B.C.). The third epistle of this book is addressed to Julius Florus, who was one of the *comites* of Tiberius on that occasion, but there is no mention there of Septimius. True, Schol. Cruq. says that the Titius there mentioned (v. 9) was named Titius Septimius, and is the Septimius of this epistle; but that is not very probable from the fact that both of these names are gentile names (*nŏmina*), and would hardly at this time have been borne by one person.

1. **Claudi**: Tiberius Claudius Ti. f. Nero. — **nimirum**: i.e. *ni mirum; no wonder, of course.* It has here, as is often the case, an ironical force. — **unus**: *alone;* i.e. "of course Septimius knows my standing with you better than I myself."

3. **scilicet**: i.e. *scire licet.* — **tradere**: *introduce;* cf. *sic ei te commendavi et tradidi*, etc., Cic. Fam. 7. 12. 2; S. 1. 9. 47; Cic. Fam. 7. 5. 3.

4. **legentis** = *elegentis.* — **honesta**: the neut. has a more general force than the masc.; cf. S. 1. 6. 63. The reserve, discretion, and general good character of Tiberius in his earlier days has often been commented on; cf. Philo, Leg. ad Gaium, 26; Tac. Ann. 6. 51.

5. This line well shows the delicate hesitation of Horace in approaching his superior. Together with the following verse it merely repeats the sentiment of the first sentence. Bashfully he begins his request, then hesitates and goes back again to begin over. The grammar, too, slightly falters, for while *cum censet* is grammatically co-ordinate with *cum rogat*, it is logically subordinate.

7. **cur . . . abirem**: *cur* = *propter quae*, and introduces a subj. of characteristic; "many things calculated to secure my release."



8. **mea**: *my advantages*, i.e. *my influence with you.*

10. **maioris . . . culpae**: i.e. *selfishness and egotism.*

11. **frontis**, etc.: "I have assumed the privilege of city boldness." *Urbanae frontis* is in contrast with *pudor subrusticus*, Cic. Fam. 5. 12. 1; cf. the use of *os* for *cheek*, Cic. de Or. 1. 38. 175.

13. **gregis**: part. gen., as *fies nobilium fontium*, Od. 3. 13. 13. If Septimius desired to accompany Tiberius to the east, *grex* must be the same as *cohors*, Ep. 1. 3. 6; if that was not the occasion of this letter, then it has a more general meaning.

## EPISTLE X.

In the shade of a crumbling temple of Vacuna, a name suggestive of leisure, Horace dictates a letter to his friend Aristius at Rome. Its theme is the joy of a country life, simplicity of taste, and contentment of spirit.

Kind greetings, friend Aristius, my second self in everything save that you love the town, while I love the country. There alone I live and reign a king (1–11). If living according to nature is the highest philosophy, where is that easier than here, where the winters are mild, the summers cool, and envious care racks not the slumberer? The greensward is more pleasing than marble tiles, and rippling brooks dispense purer water than leaden pipes (11–20). You cannot rid yourself of rural instincts; even in the city they show themselves, and nature, though rudely thrust out, returns to claim her own (20–25). A perverted taste is bad enough, but a perverted ethical judgment is worse. The secret of life is to discern the true from the false, and to be content with simplicity. Discontent will saddle upon your back a burden that cannot be shaken off. It torments the spirit as a badly-fitting shoe the flesh (26–42). Live joyful in your lot, Aristius, and if ever I need it, counsel me as I have counseled you (43–50).

For the person addressed, see note on S. 1. 9. 61. In its praise of the country this epistle reminds us of Epod. 2, S. 2. 6, and the opening of Ep. 1. 16. Dübner compares the sixth Epistle of Boileau. There is no clue to the date; Kiessling thinks it was about the same time as Ep. 1. 7.

1. Note the contrast between *urbis amatorem* and *ruris amatores*. — **iubemus**: cf. Ep. 1. 7. 66.; this is often called the *pluralis modestiae*.

3. **paene gemelli**: *almost twins;* stronger than *fraternis animis*, for twins are closer than mere brothers.

5. **adnuimus pariter**: *we nod to each other*. This expression suggests the following comparison.

6. **nidum**: possibly derived from a particle *ni*, meaning *down*, and seen in Eng. *nether*, Anglo-Saxon *nither*, and *sed*, root of *sedeo*, in its weakest form, *sd;* **ni-zd-os* > *nidus*, Eng. *nest*, etc. Cf. *sido* < **si-zd-o*.

7. **circumlita**: instead of *circumdata; o'erspread*, as with colors from the painter's brush.

8. **Quid quaeris**: *in short;* a phrase of polite conversation dismissing further detail, quite common in Cicero's letters, as Fam. 2. 9. 2. — **ista**: with a touch of disgust.

9. **rumore secundo**: *amid general applause;* cf. *mox auferre domos populi rumore secundo*, Enn. Ann. 260; Verg. Aen. 8. 90.

10. **utque**, etc.: Horace likens himself to a *servus publicus*, attendant on some priest, whose food was the cakes offered to the god by the worshipers. Surfeited by this fare, he flees to the country, where plain bread takes the place of sweetmeats. — **liba**: cakes variously prepared and often spread with honey.

12. **Vivere naturae . . . convenienter**: a translation of the Stoic formula ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, which is the highest good. So *summum bonum a Stoicis dicitur convenienter naturae vivere*, Cic. de Off. 3. 3. 13; cf. de Fin. 3. 7. 26. The nature of which the Stoics spoke was the highest reason, but Horace uses the term somewhat popularly, in which sense the simplicity of the country is nearer to nature than the artificial life of the city.

13. **ponendaeque domo**: the dat. *domo* is a suspicious form, and had not been used in Latin literature, so far as we can now judge, since Cato. See App.

15. **plus tepeant hiemes**: possibly only a rhetorical completion of the thought in *gratior aura*, or Horace may be thinking of some special country seat, where the winters were really warmer. For *plus* instead of *magis*, see on S. 1. 1. 53.



16. **rabiem . . . momenta**: the characteristics of the dog and lion are transferred to their celestial namesakes.

17. **accepit Solem**: the sun enters the constellation Leo July 23d, and the dog-star rises with the sun on July 20.

18. **invida** = *ex invidia nata;* cf. Od. 3. 1. 21.

19. **Libycis**: for Libyan marble, cf. Od. 2. 18. 4. — **olet**: the pavements were often sprinkled with perfumes and flowers. — **lapillis**: mosaic pavements were quite common among the Romans. Hardly a house has been found in Pompeii in which they are lacking. They were formed of pieces of glass or marble, carefully fitted together and highly polished. In a square foot of one piece of work found in Pompeii two thousand separate pieces have been counted.

20. **plumbum**: the water supply of Rome was brought to the city by numerous aqueducts, of which there were four during the republic, while three were added under Augustus, and later others, until there were fourteen in all. At the end of each was a reservoir (*castellum*), from which the water was conveyed by pipes (*fistulae, tubuli*) into other reservoirs, from which it was in turn supplied to the baths, ponds, fountains, etc., and to private families. Augustus put all this under the care of a special officer (*curator aquarum*); previously it had fallen to the censor and aediles.

22. **nempe**, etc.: *why, even in the midst of columns of variegated marble*, etc. The *peristylium* was an open court behind the *atrium*, surrounded by a colonnade, and planted with flowers, shrubs, and trees.

23. **prospicit**: as Maecenas's house on the Esquiline.

24. **expelles**, etc.: "nature and culture wage continual warfare; though you drive out nature with violence, yet she ever returns victorious over a false arrogance." The future is used concessively, as Od. 1. 7. 1; Verg. Aen. 6. 847, *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera . . . tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*. The language of conversation in like manner used *ita me amabit Juppiter*, as well as *ita me amet Iuppiter*. — **furca**: as Liv. 28. 3; cf. *Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt*, Catull. 105. 2; *furcilla extrudimur*, Cic. ad Att. 16. 2. 4; Aristoph. Peace, 637.

25. **mala . . . fastidia**: *perverse fastidiousness.* — **furtim**: *im-*

*perceptibly.* [Cf. "Time's thievish progress to eternity," Shakespeare, Sonnet 77. Professor Shorey.]

26. **Non, qui**, etc.: a perverted aesthetic taste cannot rightly appreciate the simpler joys of life, and a corrupt ethical judgment brings loss just as surely as lack of business knowledge. — **Sidonio . . . ostro**: dat. with *contendere, to compare.* The dyes of the ancients were vegetable or animal, not mineral. The finest purple dyes were obtained from two kinds of shell-fish, *murex* and *purpura*, with the former of which *ostrum* (ὄστρεον) is probably identical. The word is, however, used here in a more general sense. The genuine Tyrian purple was obtained by dipping the wool first in a bath prepared from the *purpura*, then in one prepared from the *murex*. A pound of such wool sold at Caesar's time for more than one thousand *denarii;* see Mayor on Juv. 1. 27, and Marquardt, Handbuch, VII. p. 506 ff.

27. **Aquinatem . . . fucum**: the *fucus* was a kind of lichen used for dyeing, probably in imitation of the true Phoenician purple; compare our orchil, archil, or cudbear. That such a business was carried on at Aquinum (a city of Latium and the native town of Juvenal) we should infer from this passage, but there is no mention of the fact elsewhere; cf. *confer Amyclaeis medicatum vellus aenis murice cum Tyrio*, Ov. Rem. Am. 707. — **potantia**: the absence of a perf. act. part. in Latin causes sometimes a pres. to be used without strict logical accuracy; see Naegelsbach, Stil. p. 390.

28. **propiusve medullis**: *or one that cuts deeper.*

30. **plus nimio**: *far too much;* abl. of measure, as is clearly shown by the frequent use of this phrase in Livy with a comparative clause of difference added with *quam*, as *nimio plus quam vellem nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia*, 2. 37. 4. Cf. Od. 1. 18. 15; 1. 33. 1.

31. **quatient**: cf. Od. 3. 3. 4. — **mirabere**: used in like sense in Ep. 1. 6. 18. — **pones** = *depones.*

33. **reges**: taken by Orelli and Dillenburger in a literal sense, referring to the Stoic paradox, Ep. 1. 1. 107; others take it as equal to *divites*, thus making a vivid contrast to *sub paupere tecto.* — **praecurrere**: *outstrip*, in the race for happiness; cf. S. 1. 1. 111 ff.

34. According to Aristotle (Rhet. 2. 20), this fable was recited by the poet Stesichorus (sixth century B.C.) to his fellow-citizens of Himera, when they, having called to their aid Phalaris of Agrigentum, had elected him στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, and were about to give him a body-guard.



37. **victor violens**: *haughty conqueror.* This is predicate nominative, not subject.

39. **metallis**: from the mines throughout the provinces, especially in Cis-Alpine Gaul, Spain, Macedonia, Thrace, etc., the Roman government derived a large income.

40. **vehet**: in keeping with the foregoing fable. — **improbus**: in consequence of his greed.

41. **aeternum**: adverbial.

42. **Cui non**, etc.: the comparison and the main thought are welded together, as often in Horace; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 2; 1. 7. 74. In translating, begin with the *ut* clause: "As a shoe, etc., so an ill-fitting fortune treats its owner. Wherefore be content with your lot." — **olim**: *at times;* see on S. 1. 1. 25.

44. **vives**: contains both an expectation and a command. For *sorte*, see on S. 1. 1. 2.

45. **incastigatum**: this touch makes Horace's advice more acceptable, and saves him from the appearance even of conceit.

47. **Imperat aut servit**: with the sentiment, cf. *divitiae enim apud sapientem virum in servitute sunt, apud stultum in imperio*, Sen. de Vita Beata, 26.

48. The picture is that of an animal led by a rope. *Tortum* may be a kind of standing epithet, *well twisted*, or it may mean *tightly stretched, strained*, as Verg. Aen. 4. 575.

49. **tibi**: *for thee;* he dictated, of course, to an amanuensis. — **dictabam**: epistolary impf. — **post**, etc.: *behind the mouldering fane of Vacunae.* This was a Sabine goddess, identified variously with Bellona, Diana, Minerva. Acro says that she was identified by Varro with Victoria, and an inscription found near Horace's villa, which says of Vespasian as Censor, *aedem Victoriae vetustate dilapsam sua impensa restituit*, is referred with great probability to the very temple mentioned by Horace. Some have thought that the ruins of the temple itself have been discovered. Close by Reate was a grove sacred to Vacuna, and from this country Vespasian had sprung, the son of a Sabine peasant. Possibly Horace

was playing on the assumed connexion of Vacuna with *vacare*; Schol. Cruq. calls her *deam vacationis, quod faciat vacare a curis.*

50. **excepto**: ablative of participle, with a sentence for the substantive. Roby says, 1250 n., "This usage is found frequently in Livy, Tacitus, and Curtius; twice in Cicero; never in Caesar, Sallust, or Nepos." — **simul esses** = *mihi adesses*, a colloquial expression; cf. Cic. ad Att. 6. 2. The subjunctive is used because by the epistolary tense the writer is transferred to the point of view of the reader; see Roby, 1744.

## EPISTLE XVI.

The central idea of this epistle is that no outward circumstances, not even the praise of all the world, can make a man really happy, unless he have within himself the consciousness of Stoic virtue and wisdom.

It is not the revenue from my farm that makes me love it, friend Quinctius, but its charms, — water, shade, and sky. You need never fear for my health here (1–16). But I would ask about you. True, you are accounted happy; but listen not to such a Siren's voice, if your heart tells you that you do not deserve this praise. Flattery is a worthless gift, — given without merit, withdrawn without a crime (17–40). The one that the world calls good is the man of outward propriety only (40–45), who does right for fear of punishment, as one of my slaves (46–56). With his lips he prays to Apollo, with his heart he worships Mammon (57–62). A slave of his own greed, he is joined to his idols; leave him alone (63–72). How different is the truly good and wise man, who bows to no unjust power, fears no punishment, and is ever ready, by voluntary death, if need be, to prove himself a freeman (73–79).

Nothing positive can be stated as to the person to whom this epistle is written. Possibly he is the same as Quinctius Hirpinus, to whom Od. 2. 11 was addressed, and whom some would identify with T. Quinctius Crispinus, Cos. 9 B.C. Some few facts as to his personality may be gathered from the epistle itself, though Horace evidently does not confine himself in his directions to an individual. There is no clue to the date.



1. **Ne perconteris**: depends on *scribetur*, v. 4. This manner of beginning the letter implies some expression of curiosity on the part of Quinctius. — **optime**: so Horace speaks of his father, S. 1. 4. 105; of Maecenas, S. 1. 5. 27; Vergil, S. 1. 6. 54; Octavius, S. 1. 10. 82; Trebatius, S. 2. 1. 12.

2. **pascat . . . opulentet**: the olive was much more profitable than grain. The word *opulentet* seems to have been formed by Horace; it is used again by Columella, 8. 1.

3. **pratis**: for grazing. — **amicta vitibus ulmo**: this was a favorite way of planting a vineyard among the Romans (see Lex. s.v. *arbustum*), and the height to which the vine was carried was thought by some to improve the quality of the wine; Plin. H. N. 17. 23. The trees most commonly so used were the elm and black poplar; cf. Juv. 6. 150, *ulmosque Falernas.* The five departments of husbandry here mentioned were the chief agricultural industries of the Romans. Macleane thinks that these lines are intended as a description of Horace's farm products. This is hardly likely. To anticipate such questions, all bearing on the mercantile side of farming, Horace gives his friend a description of the charms of his villa, as he felt them. In this description he does not fully answer the questions of vv. 2 and 3. The only products mentioned are cornel-cherries, sloes, and acorns. Cattle are mentioned, but this is as much an aesthetic touch as a mercantile citation. From allusions elsewhere we gather that his farm included both plow-lands and meadow (Ep. 1. 14. 26–30); that the grape could not be cultivated (Ep. 1. 14. 23); that part of the estate he cultivated himself, with the aid of eight slaves (S. 2. 7. 118), while the remainder was farmed out to five families of tenants (*coloni*, Ep. 1. 14. 2).

4. **forma** is here the artificial character given to it by the kind of industries maintained (8–11), while *situs* is the natural situation (5–8). Cf. Varro, R. R. 1. 6. 1. — **loquaciter**: with the full detail of the interested owner. The situation of Horace's estate has been carefully investigated. Following the Anio or the Valerian way about eight miles above Tivoli, the village of Vico Varo is reached, the Varia of Horace. A couple of miles further on, a valley opens to the north, down which flows the Digentia. Some six miles up this valley is the spot that has been identified as Horace's home. Interesting descriptions of the present appear-

ance of the valley may be found in a letter by G. Dennis, in Milman's Life of Horace, or in the *vie d'Horace* in Bond's edition of 1855; for the whole question, see Boissier, Nouvelles Promenades Archéologiques, pp. 1–62. Dennis says: "A few remains of brick wall, a scattered fragment or two of columns, not of marble or other foreign materials, but of ordinary travertine, and a small piece of mosaic pavement, mark the exact site."

5. **si dissocientur**: the subjunctive transfers the positive fact (*dissociantur*) into the region of the ideal; "if you should picture to yourself a continuous mountain range broken by a valley, etc., you would praise its mild location; and if you would call to mind the charm of its vegetation, you would say that Tarentum was brought near to Rome." For other similar subjunctives, Keller (Epilegomena) cites S. 2. 3. 159; Ep. 1. 19. 12; Ep. 2. 1. 79. See App.

7. **curru fugiente**: with *discedens;* cf. Od. 3. 6. 45, *abeunte curru.*

9. **corna**: these and *silvestria pruna* are said by Columella (12. 10), when pickled in salt and vinegar, to take the place of olives. Of the present state of the farm, Dennis says: "Vines hang in festoons from tree to tree over the site of his abode; the cornels and sloes have in great measure given way to the olive and fig; and the walnut and Spanish chestnut have taken the place of the oak and ilex."

10. **multa fruge**: acorns are not usually reckoned among the *fruges.*

11. **Tarentum**: this was one of Horace's favorite resorts; Ep. 1. 7. 45; Od. 2. 6. 13 ff.

12. **Fons**: the scholiasts call this the *fons Bandusiae,* so sweetly sung Od. 3. 13, and Dennis satisfied himself that he found the very spring. On the other hand, there is positive testimony of a *fons Bandusinus* near Venusia, and if the spring addressed in Od. 3. 13 was near Horace's villa, he probably transferred to it a name taken from a spring that he loved in childhood. From our passage, it is more likely that its name was the same as that of the stream, that is, Digentia (Ep. 1. 18. 104).

13. **Hebrus**: cf. Ep. 1. 3. 3; its coldness was proverbial.

14. **capiti . . . alvo**: the cold douche was recommended by Celsus for head and stomach; cf. Ep. 1. 15. 8.



15. **dulces**: subjective. — **amoenae**: objective.

16. **Septembribus**: see on Ep. 1. 7. 5.

17. **Tu recte**, etc.: "so much for myself; now let us see how it stands with you." — **si curas esse quod audis**: an old Socratic teaching; cf. Cic. de Off. 2. 12. 43; Xen. Mem. 2. 6. 39. — **audis**: cf. S. 2. 7. 101; Ep. 1. 7. 38.

18. **Iactamus . . . omnis . . . Roma**: the same construction as Epod. 16. 36; Od. 4. 2. 50. Even in the country Horace reckons himself to the city population.

20. **alium**: followed by ablative of comparison, as S. 2. 3. 208; Ep. 2. 1. 240.

21. **populus**: *people,* not *the people.*

22. **dictitet**: *insist that you are.* Here, again, the comparison is not kept to itself, but is united with the principal thought.

23. **tremor**: the fever comes on with a chill; cf. Cels. 3. 3, *incipiunt fere ab horrore . . . ubi totum corpus intremit.* — **manibus . . . unctis**: fingers supplied the place of knives and forks; cf. *carpe cibos digitis,* Ov. A. A. 3. 755; Pers. 3. 100. Chaucer describes the Prioress, Prol. 128: —

> Sche let no morsel from hire lippes falle,
> Ne wette hire fyngers in hire sauce deepe.

24. **Stultorum**: this second illustration, which widens the comparison from the second pers. sing. to the plur., and pronounces judgment on fools in general, makes clear the moral bearing of the epistle.

25. **Si quis**, etc.: "if the flattery is too gross, and praise suited only to Augustus is given you, you reject it; equally worthless is praise for wisdom or virtue, if undeserved." — **tibi**: construed most naturally with *pugnata,* as A. P. 427, but the scholiasts take it with *dicat,* as = *pro tuis laudibus.*

26. **vacuas**: *ready, open to flattery;* cf. Pers. 4. 50, *bibulas aures.*

27. This quotation is made, according to Porphyrio, *notissimo ex panegyrico Augusti,* and Schol. Cruq. adds the author's name as Varus. This is probably an error for Varius, as the name is given by Acro. For the writings of this well-known friend of Horace, see on S. 1. 5. 40. The introduction of this illustration is a most delicate piece of flattery for Augustus.

30. **cum pateris**, etc.: "but when you accept praise for wisdom and virtue, do you not thereby assume that you deserve it?" — **sapiens . . . vocari**: Greek construction of nom. with inf., as *patiens vocari Caesaris ultor*, Od. 1. 2. 43.

31. **sodes**: see on S. 1. 9. 41. — **respondesne** = *nonne respondes*, as Epod. 4. 7. — **tuo . . . nomine**: by calling out, "*ille quem tu sapientem vocas, ego sum T. Quinctius.*" — **Nempe**: "to be sure, and you would do the same." The vanity of such enjoyment is shown in the following lines; but admonished by Quinctius's *ac tu*, Horace substitutes the first for the second person.

33. **Qui**: *populus* from v. 21. The relative connects with an adversative sense.

34. **detrahet**: used in a general sense, not referring specifically to the *abrogatio imperii*, which, though theoretically possible, was very rare; cf. Od. 3. 2. 17 f.

35. **Pone** = *depone*. — **meum est**: i.e. *nomen boni viri*.

36. **Idem**: best taken with *mordear*. It thus becomes easy to supply from it *me* for *clamet furem*, etc. Note the verbs *clamet*, *neget*, *contendat*. The slanderer raises the cry of "*stop thief!*" casts suspicions of impurity often by mere negative statements, by insinuations, etc., and persistently sticks to the wildest charges of outrageous crime.

38. **colores**: plur. because of the frequent change of color; cf. Prop. 1. 15. 39, *quis te cogebat multos pallere colores*.

39. **Falsus honor**, etc.: delight in false praise and fear of false charges are both a proof of moral unsoundness. But to return to our analysis of a good man, v. 32.

41. Decrees of the Senate (*senatus consulta*) were orders to the magistrates, and so were virtually laws. The senatorial administration belonged especially to the departments of religion, finance, and foreign affairs. Statutes proper (*leges*) were passed, towards the end of the republic, almost exclusively by the Comitia Tributa, though this had formerly been the office of the Comitia Centuriata also. *Iura*, which includes often all rules of law (cf. S. 1. 3. 111), seems to be used here to complete *consulta* and *leges*, and would therefore refer especially to magisterial edicts and all legal precedent.

42. **secantur**: poetic for *deciduntur* or *dirimuntur*



43. **causae . . . tenentur** = *obtinentur;* used by Cic. pro Caec. 67. The opposite is *causa cadere*.

44. **Sed videt**, etc.: but though faultless in public, his household and neighbors know that he is a hypocrite.

45. **introrsum turpem**: see on S. 2. 1. 64. "Such a Pharisee reminds me of the boasted virtue of my slave."

47. **loris**: the leather whip, the same as *scutica*, S. 1. 3. 119, less severe than the *flagellum*. — **ureris**: cf. Epod. 4. 3; S. 2. 7. 58.

48. **in cruce**: crucifixion was the common method of execution for slaves, and hence was often called *supplicium servile*.

49. **renuit negitatque**: *denies with gesture and word*. — **Sabellus**: as Horace himself, who, as a plain Sabine farmer, knows what simple virtue and frugality mean.

50. He who for fear of punishment avoids wrong-doing is not changed in nature any more than the wolf that keeps out of the pitfall.

51. **opertum**: *concealed*, by the bait (*esca*). — **miluus**: three syllables. This was a kind of flying-fish.

53. **Tu**: the slave before mentioned. Just before this verse a few Mss. have this line: *oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae*, evidently a weak interpolation.

54. **fallendi**: cf. v. 61. — **sacra profanis**: cf. A. P. 397.

55. **fabae**: beans were a common article of food among the poor and slaves; cf. S. 2. 6. 63.

56. **mihi**: *in my eyes*.

57. **Vir bonus**: this is the man of outward morality, mentioned in v. 41 f., as distinguished from the genuinely good man, v. 73.

58. The animals most commonly used in sacrifice were the ox, the sheep, and the pig, varying with the god, or according to the circumstances of the case.

59. **clare**: i.e. *clara voce*. For Janus, see on S. 2. 6. 20.

60. **labra movet**: "silent devotion was not practised or understood by the ancients, any more than it is by the heathen or Mahometans now: μετὰ φωνῆς εὔχεσθαι δεῖ is reported to have been a saying of Pythagoras. Silent prayers were supposed to be a veil either for improper petitions, or magical incantations, or something wrong. To speak with men as if the gods were listening, and with the gods so as men might overhear, is a rule found in more than

one writer; Sen. Ep. 10; Macrob. Sat. 1. 7." Macleane. This passage is imitated by Pers. 2. 3. 16. — **pulchra**: Kiessling takes this in the sense of *mighty*, which he thinks was the original force of the word, deriving it from *pollere*. It is used in a sense somewhat similar, Od. 4. 4. 65; Enn. Ann. 83; Verg. Aen. 7. 656 and 761. *Pulcher* is, however, generally derived from *polire*. — **Laverna**: the patron goddess of thieves. She was said to have had a grove consecrated to her on the *via Salaria*.

61. **iusto**: toward men; cf. *fraudibus* in next line. — **sancto**: towards the gods; cf. *peccatis*.

63. **liberior**: with allusion to the Stoic paradox that only the wise man is free.

64. **in triviis fixum**: an imitation of this line in Pers. 5. 111 calls forth an explanation of the scholiast to the effect that boys used to solder a coin to the pavement in order that they might enjoy the fun of seeing passers-by try to pick it up.

66. **mihi**: as v. 56.

67. **Perdidit arma, locum . . . deseruit**: the two most striking marks of cowardice. "In the battle of life he has surrendered his virtue for love of lucre. But do not kill him. Let him live the life of a slave and serve the world as he can, by providing for the wants of the world."

69. **captivum**: the Roman slave market was mostly fed by prisoners of war. Aemilius Paulus sold one hundred and fifty thousand captives after his campaigns in Epirus, and ninety-seven thousand Jews were sold on the conquest of Palestine.

70. **durus**: cf. Ep. 1. 7. 91; "in the sweat of his brow." — **pascat, aret, naviget**, etc., indicate some of the ways by which the avaricious man makes his gain; those are selected which are in keeping with the comparison of the slave life.

72. **annonae prosit**: by bringing grain to Rome, and so lessening the price.

73. In contrast with the foregoing, Horace closes the epistle with the picture of a truly good man, a *vir bonus et sapiens* in the Stoic sense. The scene is an adaptation of Eurip. Bacch. 492–498, where Dionysus, in the guise of a Lydian stranger, is brought before Pentheus, king of Thebes, and threatened with punishment for having introduced a new and unacceptable form of worship.



75. **indignum**: neut. — **bona**: in Euripides Pentheus threatens to deprive Dionysus of his long locks of hair and the *thyrsus*. Horace substitutes for these more worldly goods, as *pecus*, *rem*, *lectos*, *argentum*.

76. **lectos**: *couches for dining*. — **argentum**: *silver plate*, as in Ep. 1. 6. 17.

78. In Euripides, when Pentheus threatens imprisonment, Dionysus answers λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων αὐτός, ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω, which Horace interprets to mean suicide, quite differently from what Euripides intended. This was to the Stoics a door of deliverance standing open to all. According to Seneca, de Prov. 6. 5, God says to man, *ante omnia cavi ne quis vos teneret invitos: patet exitus: si pugnare non vultis, licet fugere.*

79. **linea**: a chalked line that marked the end of the race-course in the circus; cf. ἐπ' ἄκραν ἤκομεν γραμμὴν κακῶν, Eur. Antig. fr. 169 n.

## EPISTLE XVII.

Kiessling thinks that this epistle was written as a justification of Horace's relation to Maecenas, — to prove it a relation alike honorable and pleasant. This view is quite consistent with the tone of the first part of the epistle (1–42), but is hard to reconcile with the closing strain. Indeed, the apparent want of connexion between the two parts of the letter must offend every one. Lehrs rejects v. 2, and all after v. 32 except v. 36. Ribbeck omits certain verses, changes the order of others, and adds the larger part of the next epistle (v. 21–88) to this one.

Though you need no advice, yet listen to a word from your unassuming friend as to one's attitude toward the great (1–5). If a life of dependence seem galling to you, seek simple seclusion and sound sleep at some country town, where you can live and die blissfully unknown (6–12). If, on the other hand, you wish to benefit your friends and yourself, choose Aristippus for your model rather than Diogenes (13–32). To do great deeds is godlike, and even to come near those that have done them is praise. This is not given to every one. They fail who fear to attempt; the man of enterprise succeeds (32–42). In conclusion, a special

rule or two. Avoid begging, whether direct or indirect; consume not your patron's time nor weary his patience with tales of trivial losses and inconveniences, lest true complaints be disregarded (42–62).

The person to whom this epistle is addressed is unknown, though the scholiasts identify him with the Lollius to whom the following letter is directed. Kiessling says: "One is almost tempted to regard him as a purely fictitious character, if such an assumption were allowable for any of the epistles." The date, too, is uncertain.

1. **per te**: cf. A. P. 367, *quamvis . . . per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum tolle.* — **consulis**: the Augustan poets and prose writers use the indicative quite freely after *quamvis*. In Horace the indicative is more frequent than the subjunctive.

2. **tandem**: this particle is often added to questions in order to denote impatience, as in *quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, nostra patientia*, Cic. Cat. 1. 1. Such is not its force here, however, nor is it a particle of emphasis (Greenough, "just how"); it rather marks, as Ribbeck suggests, the transition from the generic (*tibi consulis*) to the specific (*maioribus uti*) "*how, in fine.*" — **maioribus**: cf. S. 2. 1. 61 and v. 35 below.

3. **disce**: the didactic tone is softened at once by *docendus . . . amiculus*. The diminutive *amiculus* has a propitiatory force, "*your humble servant.*"

4. **caecus . . . velit**: Porphyrio quotes a similar proverb, *sus Minervam docet.*

5. **fecisse**: see on S. 2. 8. 79, and cf. Ep. 1. 18. 59; A. P. 98.

6. Horace enumerates the comforts which he must give up who seeks to join himself to some rich patron. The morning's nap must be broken to pay the *salutatio;* he must accompany his patron on excursions or journeys (cf. S. 2. 6. 41 ff.), where public inns furnish dreary accommodations (cf. S. 1. 5. 80).

8. **Ferentinum**: about forty-eight miles from Rome, on the Latin way. — **iubebo**: cf. *censebo*, Ep. 1. 14. 44.

10. **nec vixit male**: *nor is his life a failure;* cf. *bene vivere*, Ep. 1. 6. 56. — **fefellit**: an oft-quoted saying of Epicurus was λάθε βιώσας, against which Plutarch wrote a special work. Ovid adopts the same thought, Trist. 3. 4. 25, *crede mihi, bene qui latuit, bene vixit.*



11. **Si**: with the force of *sin*, which is not used by Horace. The two motives that might lead one to curry favor with the rich are the desire to help those dependent on him (cf. v. 46), and an inclination toward self-indulgence.

12. **accedes . . . ad unctum**: "then drop dry bread and take to juicy meat," is the rather free translation of Conington. All the scholiasts tell us that *unctum* is used for *divitem* or *opulentum;* the word is transferred from elegance of toilet (cf. *unguentis delibutus*) to a sumptuous liver.

13 f. A dialogue between Diogenes and Aristippus, reported by Diog. Laert. 2. 8. 68. Aristippus had been the guest of Dionysius the Younger, and in chancing to pass Diogenes as he was preparing vegetables for his own simple meal, he is accosted by the Cynic. — **pranderet holus**: cf. *prandere luscinias*, S. 2. 3. 245. — **patienter**: *contentedly*, with allusion to the peculiar virtue of the Cynics, καρτερία, which is rendered by *patientia* again v. 25.

15. **qui me notat**: *who censures me*, as the censor. — **Utrius**: Horace generally uses these genitives with a short penult.

18. **eludebat**: generally used of the parrying of blows, here of the bite of the Cynic philosopher.

19. **scurror**, etc.: *I play the buffoon for my own profit, you for the amusement of the people.*

20. **Equus**, etc.: this was the answer made by a certain Corraeus, in the service of Philip, to his mother, when she begged him to ask for his discharge, Diogenianus, 5. 31. It became a proverb in Greek: ἵππος με φέρει, βασιλεύς με τρέφει.

21. **poscis**: *beg*, as v. 44, "you beg for trifles, it is true, but in doing so you assume a position inferior to that of the giver."

22. **fers te**: *boast yourself.* — **nullius** may be either masculine or neuter, as A. P. 324.

23. **Omnis . . . color**, etc.: Aristippus knows how to adapt himself to any form of life, while Diogenes cannot live without his rags. — **color**: bright or dark (cf. S. 2. 1. 60). — **status**: high or low. — **res**: rich or poor.

24. **fere**, etc.: *yet generally equal to present conditions;* cf. *fere*, Ep. 1. 6. 9.

25. **duplici panno**: a worn-out *abolla*, which was doubled, and served as his complete apparel. It was called διπλοῖς and τρίβων, and was characteristic of the Cynics. Thus Diog. Laert., 6. 1. 13, says of Diogenes, πρῶτος ἐδίπλωσε τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ μόνῳ αὐτῷ ἐχρῆτο.

26. **via . . . conversa**: viz. *ad maiora tendens.*

27. **Alter**, etc.: "Aristippus will not remain indoors for lack of a fine garment, but Diogenes is wedded to his rags and would be lost without them."

29. **non inconcinnus**: "without appearing inelegant or awkward."

30. **Mileti**: the wool of Miletus was of the finest quality, and took a rich color in dyeing.

33. **Res gerere**: this refers here to military deeds, while *captos ostendere* alludes to the triumphal procession. As it is honorable to perform great deeds, so it is praiseworthy to gain the friendship of the great.

34. **attingit**, etc.: *touches the throne of Jove and scales the sky.* In *attingit solium* may also lurk an allusion to the entering of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by the triumphing general, and the depositing of the laurel branch which he had borne in the lap of the god. With *caelestia temptat*, cf. Od. 3. 2. 21.

35. **principibus**: Horace is probably thinking of Augustus and Agrippa; cf. Ep. 1. 20. 23. — **placuisse**: see on Ep. 1. 1. 41.

36. **Non cuivis**, etc.: this verse is a proverb, οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. As Horace uses it, it simply means that not every one succeeds in reaching the object of his ambition.

37. **Sedit**: this conveys the idea of slothful inaction; the perfects are gnomic, and should be translated as presents. — **succederet**: impersonal; sc. *sibi*. The sentiment following, *esto . . . viriliter*, is the utterance of one who does not approve of cultivating the favor of the great. — **Esto**, etc.: *very well; but he who gets to Corinth, does he display virtue thereby?*

38. **Atqui**: *but surely.*

39. **hic**: i.e. in this earnest effort. — **quod quaerimus**: i.e. virtue. — **Hic . . . hic**: *this one, that one.*

40. **ut . . . maius**: cf. *ut avarus*, S. 1. 1. 108; *maius* is chosen rather than *gravius* to contrast with *parvo corpore*. — **parvis animis**: plural, as in Ep. 1. 19. 24; A. P. 27. It is feebleness of spirit, as well as of body, that makes life's burdens seem beyond our power.



41. **subit et perfert**: *undertakes and carries through.* — **virtus**: Horace seems to be thinking of its etymological connexion with *vir*, and its consequent meaning, *manliness.*

42. **recte petit**: i.e. *recte facit, cum petit.* — **experiens**: *enterprising.*

43. With cooler tone Horace continues, giving directions as to the way one should conduct himself towards a powerful friend; but it must be confessed that the latter part of the epistle does not accord well with the first part, especially if we are to suppose that Horace is speaking from his experience in relation to Maecenas. — **rege**: *patron*, as Ep. 1. 7. 37. The parasite often speaks of his patron as *meus rex*, Plaut. Capt. 92; Stich. 455.

44. **sumasne**, etc.: *whether you modestly accept or greedily grab.*

45. **caput hoc**: the significance of this expression is by no means clear; *hoc* seems to refer to the idea that is common to both *sumas* and *rapias*, viz. *getting something.*

46. **Indotata**: to fail to provide a dowry for a sister was a disgrace; cf. Plaut. Trin. 689. — **paupercula**: the diminutive transferred from the subst. to the adj. In Ep. 1. 7. 7 we have *matercula.*

48. **clamat**: just as any common beggar. — **succinit**: *chimes in.*

49. **quadra**: not as Harper's Lex. gives it, *morsel*, but *loaf;* more exactly, it is the fourth part of a loaf. The Roman loaves were round, and were generally divided into four or more parts by depressions starting from the center, as may be seen from pictures preserved in Pompeii; cf. Verg. Moret. 47.

52. Advice as to conduct on a journey, when accompanying a patron. — **Brundisium**: Horace was probably thinking of his own trip with Maecenas. — **Surrentum**: the still charming Sorrento, on the bay of Naples.

53. **salebras** < *salio; jolting places*, "roughness of the road."

54. **cistam**: the chest in which his personal effects were carried. — **viatica**: *travelling funds.*

55. **refert**: *repeats.* — **acumina**: *tricks;* for illustration, see Plaut. Truc. 51 ff. — **catellam**: diminutive of *catena*, not of *catulus.*

56. **periscelidem**: *anklets.*

57. **veris** belongs also to *damnis*.

58. The juggler selects the street corners for his exhibitions, and pretending to have broken his leg, gets some passer-by to lift him up, whereupon he suddenly regains his strength, to the chagrin of his assistant and the amusement of the crowd. This trick is alluded to by Quintilian, 6. 3. 98, *tollat te qui non novit*.

60. **Osirim**: the worship of Egyptian deities was growing so rapidly in Rome that Augustus forbade their *cultus* within the city limits (Dio Cass. 53. 2); or perhaps the juggler was himself an Egyptian.

62. **Quaere peregrinum**: *try that on a stranger;* compare our slang phrase, "Tell it to the marines."

## EPISTLE XIX.

The reception which Horace's Odes had received did not answer his expectations, as expressed in the closing Ode of the third Book. The critics who attacked his Satires for their improper treatment of Lucilius and the older school of poets (cf. S. 1. 4 and 10) were ready to renew their enmity on the appearance of a new style of composition. On them Horace now takes his revenge, properly addressing his rejoinder to his patron, Maecenas. He attacks their clannishness, plagiarizing habits, repudiates the charge of imitation that had been made on him, and explains that it is not selfishness, but modesty, that causes him to refrain from joining their public recitations.

Wine is the fount of poetry, as is attested by Cratinus, Homer, and Ennius (1–8). But when I order poets to drink, poetasters soak themselves night and day. External imitation leads to all manner of follies (9–18). Slavish brood, how you move now my wrath, now my laughter. You cannot justify yourselves by pointing at me; I have not pressed another's footprints. Though I follow Archilochus, yet I have only done what Alcaeus and Sappho did before me (19–34). The true cause of my critics' enmity is that I am independent of them, and will not join their coterie. But I will not bandy words with them, nor, following their example, indulge in personal abuse (34–49).



1. **Prisco . . . Cratino**: see on S. 1. 4. 1. His fondness for wine was proverbial, and is alluded to by Aristophanes, Knights, 526, and Peace, 700 ff. The sentiment here attributed to him is also attested by an epigram, generally attributed to Nicaenetus, Anthol. Pal. 13. 29:

> Οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος ἀοιδῷ
> ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοι σοφόν.

—**docte**: and so acquainted with the old Greek author; cf. Od. 3. 8. 5.

3. **potoribus**: dat. rather than abl. The agent is sometimes regarded as an instrument, and so expressed by the abl. without a preposition (cf. Ep. 1. 1. 94); on the other hand, the dat. is not infrequently used for the agent by the poets. This is more frequent with the perf. pass. (cf. S. 1. 10. 16), but is not confined to that tense. — **Ut** = *ex quo, ever since.* — **male sanos**: "*male* denotes either the deficiency of what is good or the excess of what is bad, like the prefix *ve*." Wilkins. Cf. *vesanos*, A. P. 455 and 296.

4. **adscripsit**: *enrolled.* The Satyrs are the regular companions of Dionysus, and with them the Italian Fauni are here associated as companions, though they are often completely identified with them, as in A. P. 244.

5. **fere**: *regularly.* — **Camenae**: the Italian muses.

> "The nine
> Have smelt each morning of last evening's wine." Con.

6. **Laudibus**: only in a general way by such epithets as ἡδύποτος, μελιηδής, μελίφρων. — **vinosus**: predicate. Horace is fond of putting words of closely related etymology near each other; cf. S. 2. 6. 81; Ep. 1. 18. 5.

7. Ennius (239–169 B.C.) was regarded as the father of Roman poetry. That he was addicted to excessive wine-drinking has been inferred from his own expression about himself, *nunquam poetor, nisi si podager*. The work here alluded to is his Annals, in eighteen books, of which some six hundred lines have been preserved in fragments. It treated the history of Rome from its earliest traditions to the year 172 B.C.

8. **putealque Libonis**: see on S. 2. 6. 35.

9. **mandabo**: the future is used after the manner of the Praetorian edicts, which set forth the rules by which justice was to be administered.

11. **putere diurno** is added so as to correspond with *nocturno mero*, and must be translated as a substantive, *by day*. The line seems a parody of A. P. 269, *nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*, if so early a date could be accepted for the latter poem. Otherwise, that verse was written as a reminiscence of this.

13. **exiguaeque togae**: cf. *arta toga*, Ep. 1. 18. 30; a toga drawn tight around the person, in contrast with one allowing many graceful folds. — **textore**: the weaver is here reduced to a mere instrument of dress. — **Catonem**: the allusion is to Cato Uticensis, who, as appears from Plutarch, affected an antique simplicity of dress and firmness of character, and who found many and ready imitators.

15. **Rupit**: Horace was probably thinking of the fable of the frog and the ox; cf. S. 2. 3. 314 ff. — **Timagenis**: Timagenes of Alexandria was brought to Rome by A. Gabinius, 55 B.C. First a cook, then a litter-carrier, he was set free by Faustus, son of Sulla, became a favored rhetorician, a writer of history, and was received into the friendship of Augustus. His biting tongue lost him this favor, though he found a patron in Asinius Pollio, in whose house he died shortly before this letter was written. Of Iarbita, his imitator, nothing is known. The scholiasts tell us that he was a Moor, and his name reminds us of Vergil's Numidian king Iarbas (Aen. 4. 196).

16. **urbanus**: *a wit.* — **disertus**: *fluent*, but probably along the line indicated by *urbanus;* cf. Catull. 12. 8, *leporum disertus ac facetiarum.* Seneca says of Timagenes, *disertus homo et dicax, a quo multa improbe sed venuste dicta*, Contr. 10. 5. 22.

17. **vitiis**: belongs both with *decipit* and *imitabile.*

18. **pallerem**: Horace's complexion was doubtless florid. — **exsangue cuminum**: cummin was an oriental plant, frequently used by the Romans for seasoning. Drinking it produced paleness of complexion; cf. Pers. 5. 56; Plin. 20. 14. 57.

19. **servum**: stronger than *servile*, as *pecus* is than *grex; slavish drove.* There is no elision of *o* before *imitatores*, for then the whole word would disappear; cf. Od. 1. 1. 2.



20. **tumultus**: *your mad raging.*

21. Seek not to justify yourselves by charging me with being an imitator. I am not such as you are. — **per vacuum**: cf. Od. 3. 30. 13 and Lucret. 1. 926, *avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante trita solo.*

22. **aliena**: sc. *vestigia.* — **Qui sibi**, etc.: *who trusts himself will lead the swarm.*

23. **Parios . . . iambos**: Archilochus of Paros (fl. about 650 B.C.) was one of the earliest writers of Iambic poetry. Horace imitated him in his Epodes, which he called *iambi*, and it is to these that allusion is here made.

24. **numeros animosque**: *numbers and spirit*, but not his subject-matter (*res*). Most of the metres used by Horace in his Epodes had been already used by Archilochus, and the biting style of the Greek poet is well represented in such Epodes as Nos. 4, 6, 10, 12.

25. **agentia verba**: this is a specimen of the subjects treated by Archilochus, to which allusion is made Epod. 6. 13. Lycambes and his daughter Neobule were driven by the verses of Archilochus to commit suicide. The cause of the attack was the failure of Lycambes to give Archilochus his daughter Neobule in marriage, as he had promised.

26. **Ac ne**: *but lest you crown me with more short-lived bays;* cf. Od. 2. 3. 13. This is spoken to Maecenas and the reader.

27. **carminis artem**: *the technique.*

28. **temperat** = *moderatur, forms, models.* — **pede**: *verse*, not *a single foot;* so Od. 4. 6. 35. — **mascula**: "with masculine skill and strength."

29. **rebus . . . dispar** explains verses 30 and 31. — **ordine** refers to the arrangement of the strophes; in Archilochus they are epodic, in Alcaeus four-lined.

30. **oblinat atris**: abuse smears like mud, and is venomous like poison.

32. **Hunc**: Alcaeus, whom Horace imitated in his Odes; cf. Od. 3. 30.

33. **immemorata**: *a nullo ante dicta*, Schol. Cruq.

34. **ingenuis**: contrasted with the *ventosa plebs* of v. 37. Horace enumerates them, S. 1. 10. 81–90.

36. **premat**: *abuses.*

37. **ventosae**: *wind-driven, fickle.* Horace compares the literary man seeking praise to the fawning politician. Hence such words as *plebs* and *suffragia*, and the poet gives a dinner or worn-out garment, corresponding to the largesses of the politician. For the fact, cf. A. P. 421 and Pers. 1. 53.

39. There are two interpretations of this verse that are worthy of special notice. The one suggested by the punctuation of the text takes *auditor* and *ultor* as appositive to *ego* and unaffected by *non; I, who am a hearer and defender of noble writers, do not deign*, etc. Horace is the representative of the new movement in literature, as opposed to those critics who preferred the older writers. The other interpretation takes *ultor* in the sense of "*one who retaliates.*" In this case the retaliation would be effected by Horace's reciting in turn, just as Juvenal says he adopted satire to pay back those to whom he was forced to listen. *Nobilium scriptorum* is then used ironically, referring to the poetasters of the day, who formed a clique among themselves. Horace says: *I do not listen to them nor pay them back in kind, nor do I deign to attend the readings of the Grammatici.* There are really two statements united into one in the Latin construction.

40. **grammaticas . . . tribus**: i.e. *grammaticorum tribus;* these were teachers of literature, interpreters of the poets, literary critics.

41. **Hinc illae lacrimae**: a phrase from Ter. And. 126, which had become proverbial to indicate an unexpected explanation of any one's conduct. Its force here is, "This is the ground of their hostility to me." — **Spissis . . . theatris**: crowded auditoria where recitations were conducted. See on S. 1. 4. 73.

43. **rides**: *you make sport of us.* — **ait**: says my opponent, one of the *tribus grammaticorum.* — **Iovis**: Augustus.

44. **manare**: *distil poetic honey.*

45. **naribus uti**: *to turn up my nose;* see on S. 1. 6. 5.

47. **displicet iste locus**: as a gladiator, dissatisfied with the ground staked off, might call for a postponement, so do I seek a respite. — **diludia**: this is the only passage where this word occurs. It is explained by Porphyrio as *intermissionem ludorum vel dilationem.*



48. **Ludus**: a play on *diludia* and characterizing a contest with the critics, which he is determined to avoid, — a contest of wit that would lead to something more serious.

## EPISTLE XX.

This epistle is intended as an epilogue to the first book of epistles. It is addressed to his book, which is personified as some favorite slave. The double character of the one addressed appears in a number of terms used (see note on *prostes*, v. 2).

Child of the house, you now long for publicity (1–5). Go, but remember that there will be no return. Evil days will overtake you. A little while you will be dear to Rome, then you will be sent to the provinces, while I smile and say, "I told you so." Worst fate of all, you will be thumbed by urchins in the common schools (5–18). But while fortune favors and you find listening ears, tell who and what I am, and when I sent you forth (19–28).

The last verse fixes the date of the publication of this book between Dec. 8, 21 B.C., and Dec. 8, 20 B.C. The allusion in Ep. 1. 12. 26–28 to the victories of Agrippa over the Cantabrians, in the summer of 20 B.C., would throw the time of publication nearer the latter date than the former.

1. **Vertumnum**: in form a pres. pass. part. from *verto* (cf. Greek partc. in *-μενος*), as *alumnus* from *alo;* "*the changing one,*" the god of changes in the seasons and of exchanges, i.e. of trade. Propertius has a poem in his honor, V. 2. Porphyrio says he had a temple in the *Vicus Turarius.* Here he is used with Janus, as representing the world of trade; see on Ep. 1. 1. 54. — **spectare**: *to gaze longingly at.*

2. **scilicet**: used scornfully. — **prostes**: *be offered for sale.* Horace's book is addressed as a person, and several of the phrases used have a double meaning which cannot be mistaken. So *prostes, mundus, clavis, pudico, communia, plenus languet amator, te deserat aetas*, though not losing their reference to his book, suggest also to the mind of the reader a wanton slave. — **Sosiorum**: cf. A. P. 345. *Sosii illo tempore fratres erant bibliopolae*

*celeberrimi*, Porph. — **pumice**: the ends of the rolls were rubbed with pumice stone, so as to make them perfectly smooth, and a similar rubbing was one of the means of removing hairs and beautifying the skin; cf. Juv. 8. 16.

3. **clavis et . . . sigilla**: referring to the *scrinia*, in which the author would guard his unpublished work (cf. S. 1. 1. 120 and Ep. 2. 1. 113), with a secondary allusion to the keys of the chamber that guarded the chaste.

4. **ostendi gemis**: *you complain at being shown to but few*, referring to the private circulation of his works before they were given to the public. — **communia**: *locus communis* was also the name for a house of ill-fame.

5. **descendere**: regularly used of approaching the forum, as it was situated in a valley. Kiessling finds in the word also a reference to a moral descent.

6. **emisso**: of the youth, *let go;* of the book, *published*, like *edito;* cf. *si quando aliquod dignum nostro nomine emisimus*, Cic. ad Fam. 7. 33. The published book, like the spoken word, *volat irrevocabile*, Ep. 1. 18. 71.

7. **laeserit**: cf. *nulla reparabilis arte laesa pudicitia est*, Ov. Her. 5. 103.

8. **in breve . . . cogi**: of the book, *to be rolled up and laid aside;* of the slave, *to be reduced to straits;* cf. *contracta paupertate*, Ep. 1. 5. 20. — **plenus**: *sated;* cf. Ep. 2. 1. 100.

9. Like a seer, Horace prophesies the fate of his volume. — **odio peccantis**: *indignation at your error.* The double meaning is continued in *peccantis* and *contrectatus.* — **desipit** = *errat;* the whole line almost equals *nisi fallor.*

10. **Romae**: dative. — **aetas**: here *youth*, generally *age.*

12. **taciturnus**: because no message can be spoken to the barbarous moths. For this use of *iners*, cf. *artes, quibus qui carebant inertes a maioribus nominabantur*, Cic. de Fin. 2. 34. 115. In similar manner Juvenal (3. 207) speaks of *divina opici rodebant carmina mures.*

13. **fugies**: as a voluntary *fugitivus.* — **Uticam**: in Africa; since the fall of Carthage the chief city, noted as the place of Cato's death in 46 B.C. — **vinctus mitteris**: *bound up in a package*, like a slave in fetters, when he was sent into the country for rougher field-work. — **Ilerdam**: in Spain, situated on the Sicoris, a tributary of the Iberus (Ebro). It was here that Caesar defeated Africanus and Petreius, the legates of Pompey, 49 B.C. The export trade in books was an important business, even at this time (cf. A. P. 345). Spain may have been manifesting some of that literary spirit that showed itself in both the Senecas and Lucan, in Martial and Quintilian. In Od. 2. 20. 19, in a similar train of thought, Horace contrasts the *peritus Hiber* with the barbarian Colchians and Dacians. But here it is the refuse that is dumped on the provinces.



14. **Ridebit**: how heartily, the following incident shows. — **monitor**: Horace. — **ut ille**: there seems to have been some story of a man who, tired of holding back his ass from the edge of a precipice, finally, losing his temper, shoved him over.

17. The sad climax is reached when Horace's book becomes a schoolmaster, and stammers away its life in some outskirt school; see on S. 1. 10. 75, and for *elementa*, on S. 1. 1. 26.

19. The connexion of thought is now broken. Turning away from the schools to the time when his book should still be *carus Romae*, he charges it with a personal message. When the hot hours of midday were passed, and the streets should be again thronged with people, like some narrator or reciter, his book should gather crowds about it in the shop of the Sosii and tell them of its author. With this use of *tepidus*, cf. S. 1. 4. 30.

20. **me libertino natum**: cf. S. 1. 6. 46.

21. **maiores . . . nido**: *too great for my nest;* cf. *corpore maiorem . . . spiritum*, S. 2. 3. 310, and *gravius dorso*, S. 1. 9. 21. Horace's career had already surpassed what would have naturally been expected of him, and in this he had been aided by virtue alone, not by any of the accidents of birth.

23. **belli . . . domique**: with *primis*, not with *placuisse.* Reference is made to Agrippa, Maecenas, Augustus, and others. With the perf. inf. Horace indicates that he will be dead and gone when his work is telling its story.

24. **corporis exigui**: according to Suetonius, Augustus once wrote to him, *tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest.* — **praecanum**: Schol. Cruq. interprets this as *ante tempus canum*, a meaning which *prae* gives to verbs and participles, but not often to

adjectives, though we do find *praecox*, *praematurus*. With adjectives *prae* has generally an intensive force, "very," and so it might be here. For other allusions to Horace's gray hair, cf. Od. 2. 11. 7 and 15; 3. 14. 25. — **solibus aptum**: *well suited for sunning*, i.e. *fond of basking in the sun*. This was a favorite practice among the Romans; cf. Juv. 11. 203; Pers. 5. 179; but see App.

25. **irasci**: for Horace's quick temper, cf. Od. 3. 9. 23; S. 2. 3. 323; 2. 7. 35.

27. **Decembris**: Horace was born Dec. 8, 65 B.C., in the consulship of L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta (Od. 3. 21. 1; Epod. 13. 6). For this reason the years are counted by Decembers, as in Epod. 11. 5. He had completed forty-four years Dec. 8, 21 B.C., and this was the year of Lollius's consulship.

28. **collegam . . . dixit**: the historical incidents of that year are narrated by Dio Cassius, 54. 6. In 22 B.C. Lollius alone was elected consul, and the other place was reserved for Augustus, who was then in Sicily. Augustus refused the place, whereupon so bitter a rivalry arose between the two candidates, Q. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Junius Silanus, that a special request was sent to Augustus to return to the city. This he did not do, but summoned Lepidus and Silanus to himself, and, reproving them both, ordered that they should absent themselves from the city at the time of the elections. After considerable disturbance, Lepidus was chosen. For the reading *dixit*, see App.

# EPISTLES — BOOK II.

## EPISTLE I.

This poem was probably the latest of any of Horace's published works. Its contents are general. It discusses the attitude of the literary critics of that day towards contemporary writers, it contains an eloquent plea for the worth of the poet, a partial sketch of the growth of Roman literature, a severe condemnation of the degeneracy of dramatic taste, an appeal to Augustus on behalf of less pretentious poets, and a warning to the poets themselves to avoid some decided blunders in approaching their patrons. This epistle was written, as we are told by Suetonius, at the request of Augustus, who, after reading some of the *sermones* of Horace, complained that the poet had made no mention of him, adding further: *an vereris, ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse.* Hereupon Horace sent him the *eclogam* beginning: *cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus*, etc. The *sermones* which Augustus had read could not have been the first Book of the Epistles, for these contain numerous flattering references to the emperor, but were probably Ep. 2. 2 and the Ars Poetica, both of which are, in their general line of thought, not unlike the present epistle, and so a request to be addressed in writings of the same kind (*in eiusmodi scriptis*) would be well met by sending him this letter. Augustus was not only the great patron of letters, but a man of some literary talent and no mean writer himself, both in prose and verse.

Argument: Allow me but a word, great Caesar. Though other heroes have had to wait for the consecrating touch of death, you have your apotheosis while present with us (1–17). The world is

just in this, but in literature men remain worshipers of the past (18–27), guided by the false analogy of the Greeks (28–31). Who are the ancients? The category cannot be logically fixed, but they worship all from the days of Livius on (31–62). For their time, these writers are not undeserving of praise; but they are not perfect because they are old, nor we worthless for being new (63–78). Such criticism is hatred and envy of the present (79–89). Had the Greeks acted thus, where were now their classics? With the freedom of nature they turned from one form of art to another (90–101). The Romans, more practical and conservative, developed literary taste more slowly, but now the scribbling itch has become a raging epidemic (102–117). Though this is folly, yet it has some advantages. Poets are harmless creatures; they teach the lips of childhood and mould the heart of youth (117–138). The rustic merriment of our forefathers was at first innocent, but soon gave way to excess, and had to be restrained by law (139–155). Conquered Greece subdued her captor, and taught us the drama in which we have learned to delight (156–167). Comedy is thought an easy thing, but the faults of Plautus warn us that it is not so (168–176). He who attempts the drama, moved by the highest ideals, finds himself crushed by the degeneracy of the spectators, who demand only show and pomp (176–207). I speak not in envy, for I have the greatest admiration for the true tragic poet (208–213). And yet I would commend to your attention those humbler bards who write for the eye and not for the ear (214–218). Though poets are often foolish, yet we are needed to sing the praises of princes (218–231). Alexander, though he knew how to choose a painter and a sculptor, was stupid as a Boeotian in matters of literature (232–244). But you do yourself honor in the favor you show to Vergil and Varius. Gladly would I join the number and sing your praises, but my skill is less than my will (245–259). Lest even now I prove your Choerilus, let me close this letter (260–270).

The date of this letter has been satisfactorily determined by Vahlen. In v. 111 Horace alludes to the resumption of a species of poetry which he had renounced. This can only refer to the odes of the fourth book, which were written between 17 and 13 B.C. There are distinct allusions, too, to the contents of some



of these odes in v. 252 ff. (see note). It was therefore probably in 13 B.C. that this epistle was delivered to Augustus. The emperor had just returned, after an absence of three years in Gaul, during which time the *sermones* referred to by Suetonius may have been written. It was fitting that Horace should welcome him home by complying with his request. The polished form of this epistle has always been much admired. Mommsen calls the three epistles of the second book "the most graceful and delightful works in all Roman literature." Pope's imitation is well known.

1. **sustineas** carries with it the idea of successful endurance or accomplishment of a task. — **solus**: not quite so, nominally; but as a matter of fact the empire was resting more and more entirely in his hands.

2. **res Italas**: this use of *res* is not far removed from its use in *respublica*. *Res* may mean *state*, either alone or with some adjective, as *res Romana*, *Albana;* so, too, in the plur., *res Asiae*, Verg. Aen. 3. 1. Here *Italas* is used because with *armis tuteris* the geographical idea preponderates; with the other expressions, *ornes* and *emendes*, the definite suggestiveness of *Italas* has faded away into a vaguer *rem Romanam*. — **moribus ornes**: Augustus had assumed the office of *praefectus morum*, and had attempted to reform public morals by legislation, by encouraging a general return to the old ways of the fathers, and by his own example; cf. *exemploque suo mores reget*, Ov. Met. 15. 834.

3. **legibus emendes**: for the conjunction of *mos* and *lex*, cf. *mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas*, Od. 4. 5. 22. If this expression refers only to those laws bearing on morals, such as those *de adulteriis et de pudicitia*, *de maritandis ordinibus*, it is simply a repetition of *moribus ornes;* but it may also have reference to the general re-establishment of legal order after the chaos of the civil wars.

5–22. 'Death is usually necessary to assure a man's greatness, but you have attained this crown in life.' All the heroes here mentioned are similarly cited Od. 3. 3. 9 ff.

6. **deorum in templa**: the temples are the abodes of the gods on earth, yet sometimes the word refers to their quarters in the sky; as Ennius, quoted by Varro, L. L. 7. 6.

7. **colunt**: appropriately used with *terras;* with *genus* it has the force of *excolunt.*

8. This verse develops the idea of the preceding, and is a general picture of the advance of civilization, though it suits very well the career of Romulus.

9. **non respondere**: cf. S. 2. 8. 66.

10. **hydram**: the Lernaean hydra; cf. Od. 4. 4. 61 ff.

11. **nota . . . portenta**: the well-known monsters. For the labors of Hercules, see Class. Dict. — **fatali . . . labore**: his service to Eurystheus was ordered by the oracle of Delphi as atonement for the slaying of his children, but it was really predestined through the oath sworn by Zeus to Hera.

12. **supremo fine**: *only by his final fate;* see on Ep. 1. 1. 1.

13. **urit**: used of almost every species of physical pain, as burning, freezing, thirst, smarting; here it refers to the pain caused to the eyes by too brilliant light. There is a mixture of metaphor in *urit* and *praegravat.* — **artis**: *capacities*, almost equal to *virtutes.*

14. **exstinctus** = *mortuus.* The sentiment is as old as the observation of human nature; cf. Prop. 3. 1. 11 ff.; Vell. Pater. 2. 92.

15. **maturos**: *timely*, as opposed to those conferred after death, *seros. Honores* cannot refer to political honors, for these could never be conferred after death, but it finds its explanation in the following line.

16. **iurandas**: *iurare* takes the acc. of the object sworn by, which becomes the subject of the pass.; here, however, the construction is still looser, as the swearing is to be done on the altars, or rather while touching them, by the divinity of Augustus; cf. Juv. 3. 144. — **tuum per numen**: the practice of erecting altars in the provinces to victorious generals or favorite governors was not a new one, and we are not surprised to find such dedications made in honor of Augustus; cf. Tac. Ann. 4. 37. Suetonius (Aug. 52) says that Augustus always had his name associated in this capacity with Roma, and did not permit such honors within the city limits. In spite of these facts, however, and the frequent application of the term *divus* to him by the poets, we are not to identify the honors thus paid Augustus with the gross material worship of later emperors; see Merivale, IV. ch. 33. The passage here seems to



contain special allusion to a decree of the senate of about 14 B.C., whereby the name of Augustus was inserted in the formula of public oaths; *per Iovem optimum maximum (et genium imperatoris Augusti) deosque Penates.* This is alluded to Od. 4. 5. 34, *Laribus tuum miscet numen.*

17. With the thought, cf. Od. 4. 2. 37 ff.

18. **uno**: masculine.

19. **nostris ducibus**: as Romulus. — **Grais**: as the Dioscuri or Hercules.

20. **cetera**: to be restricted presently to literary matters. — **ratione**: *calculation, reckoning.* — **modo**: *measurement.*

21. **terris semota**: not simply as being of Greek origin, or foreign, but as being now removed from earth. — **suisque temporibus defuncta**: *filled the allotted span.*

23. **veterum**: neuter. — **tabulas**: the XII tables, which were the basis of the Roman law. Ten of them were drawn up by a commission of decemvirs in 451 B.C., and the remaining two were added by a new commission the following year. In Cicero's boyhood they were learned by heart at school, and in de Or. 1. 43 he speaks of them in the highest terms, calling them *legum fontes et capita.*

25. **Gabiis**: dependent on the following *cum*, as v. 31. This was an ancient and one of the most important towns of Latium, though at this time it was almost a ruin. A treaty made with them by Tarquinius Superbus, and written on the hide of the ox that was slaughtered at its ratification, was seen by Dionysius Halicarnassus (4. 58) in the temple of Jupiter. The oldest treaty with the Sabines was concluded by Romulus, after the rape of their women; another, probably the one alluded to here, was made with them by Tullus Hostilius (Dionys. Hal. 3. 33). — **aequata**: as being *foedera aequa.* — **rigidis**: *stern.*

26. **pontificum libros**: also called *libri pontificii;* they contained the ritual of service and the general system of religious laws. — **volumina vatum**: Porphyrio interprets thus: *veteres libros Marci vatis Sibyllaeque et similium.* But as the Sibylline books were written in Greek they must be excluded. These *carmina Marciana*, in Saturnian verse, are often alluded to, and were ascribed to a prophetic Marcius, or to the *Marcii fratres, nobili*

*loco nati*, Cic. de Div. 1. 89. It would seem that many such books of fate (*libri fatales*, *fatidici*, *vaticini*) were current, for Augustus was said to have collected and destroyed more than two thousand of them after he became Pontifex Maximus ; cf. Suet. Aug. 31.

27. **Albano**: when the muses are transferred to Latium, the Alban mount takes the place of Helicon or Parnassus.

28. 'In this opinion men rely upon the analogy of Greek literature (28–33), or attribute to age some mysterious influence on poems as on wine (34–49), or else rely blindly on the decisions of the critics.' — **antiquissima quaeque**: as Homer or Archilochus.

30. **trutina**: Greek τρυτάνη, the *tongue of a balance*. The incongruity of number between *quod* and *multa* is worthy of notice.

31. Here we see the weakness of reasoning by analogy. The olive and the nut both grow on trees, but are in their nature quite different. — **intra** and **extra** are adverbs ; *olea* depends on *in*, which is placed with the second word, as in v. 25 ; cf. *quae nemora aut quos agor in specus*, Od. 3. 25. 2. The reading *olea* is a correction of Bentley's ; the Mss., with almost perfect uniformity, show *oleam*.

32. This line makes the application of the preceding. Because we have arrived at an unprecedented height of prosperity, it does not follow that we have attained the summit of artistic culture. The four liberal arts employed in the training of the Greek youths were γράμματα, γυμναστική, μουσική, γραφική. In all the arts mentioned by Horace the Romans were notably deficient, and to some extent they even despised such proficiency. Wilkins suggests that possibly literature was here omitted because "the superiority of contemporary Greeks was not so clear in this as in the other three."

33. **doctius**: *with more skill*. *Doctus* is often used with the force of *peritus*, especially with reference to literary or artistic culture. — **unctis**: with special reference to *luctamur*.

34. The second argument is made livelier by the introduction of the dialogue, as though an opponent stood present before the poet. It is answered, not seriously, however, but in the spirit of satire, through the employment of the sorites (σωρείτης), a logical sophism. — **dies**: *processus temporis*, Schol. Cruq. ; cf. *damnosa dies*, Od. 3. 6. 25.



36. **abhinc**: with the adverb *abhinc* (*ago*) both acc. and abl. are used ; the one being the measure of duration, the other expressing the degree of difference. — **decidit**: *passed away*, literally *fallen*, like the leaves of autumn.

37. **perfectos** and **veteres** are joined together as if synonymous, as are also *vilis* and *novos ;* so below (v. 41) *veteres* implies *perfectos*.

38. **finis**: *a definite limit*, *annorum definitio*, Schol. Cruq.

39. **probus**: *laudabilis*, Schol. Cruq.

41. **referendus erit**: the fut. is often used, not temporally, but to express an opinion of the speaker, as is *demum vir erit cuius animum neque prospera fortuna efferet, nec adversa infringet*, Liv. 45. 8. Such is its force here and in *ponetur* below, as is clearly shown by the following *utor permisso*.

42. **aetas** rhymes with *poetas*, as *sunto . . . agunto*, A. P. 99 ; *seniles . . . viriles*, A. P. 177.

43. **honeste**: *with perfect propriety*, so that he will even honor the position.

46. **unum**: sc. *annum*, though the choice of a word like *vello* was doubtless caused by the suggestive force of *pilos*. In making this comparison, Horace seems to have had in mind the story told by Plutarch (Sert. 16) of Sertorius, the Marian general. Wishing to teach his army the power of perseverance, he caused a weak man to be placed by a strong horse with a bushy tail, and a strong man to be placed by a weak horse. At a given signal they began to pull out the horses' tails, the strong man attempting to accomplish his task by single jerks, and so of course failing, while the weak man succeeded by pulling out one hair at a time. Horace applies this story in an entirely different way to illustrate the process of reasoning called *sorites*, said to have been invented by Chrysippus the Stoic. By this, each conclusion is made a stepping stone to a new position. Such reasoning may be perfectly legitimate ; but, as it is easy by imperceptible divergence to lead to a conclusion irreconcilable with the first premise, the term came to be applied to the logical trick of building up or tearing down a heap grain by grain, so that each time it is left practically unchanged.

47. **cadat elusus**: *falls baffled* or *foiled*, a metaphor taken from the gladiatorial contests.

48. **redit in fastos**: *has recourse to the records.* The *fasti* contained the yearly records of the consuls and other higher magistrates, so by them the antiquity of any author would be decided. — **virtutem**: *merit.*

49. **Libitina**: see on S. 2. 6. 19. — **sacravit**: the touch of death is always sacred; similarly a man devoted to death is *homo sacer.*

50. As proof of this spirit, Horace cites the homage paid to the older poets, who are lauded to the sky and rival each other in all that is noblest. Q. Ennius (see on Ep. 1. 19. 7), being one of the first to introduce Greek culture at Rome, might well be called *sapiens.* The same term is applied to Lucilius, S. 2. 1. 17. It is with reference to the military narrative of the Annals that he is called *fortis.* Having been a soldier in the second Punic war, he knew how to tell of martial deeds; cf. Ep. 1. 19. 7. *Alter Homerus* was an epithet applied to him by Lucilius, so Jerome tells us (Comm. in Micham).

51. **ut critici dicunt**: the judgments here expressed agree closely with those of Varro in his works; hence it has been suggested that Horace took him as a type of the critics.

52. The *promissa* are identical with the *somnia Pythagorea.* According to Porphyrio, Ennius related in the beginning of his Annals that he was informed in a dream that the soul of Homer had passed into his body. This was in accord with Pythagoras's doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Now he no longer cares whether his dream is declared false or not, since his reputation is permanently assured.

53. Cn. Naevius brought out his first play at Rome in 235 B.C. We have the names of thirty-four comedies and seven tragedies written by him. He composed also a history of the first Punic war, *Bellum Punicum*, in seven books. M. Pacuvius (219–129 B.C.) was a nephew of Ennius. The extant fragments of his thirteen tragedies are about four hundred verses. The term *docte* is used of him because of his familiarity with Greek literature. L. Accius (170–about 86 B.C.) was the most prolific of these earliest poets. Some forty-five titles of his plays are known.

57. **Afrani toga**: the term *toga* is used with reference to the *togatae*, which were comedies descriptive of Roman characters as opposed to *palliatae*, or comedies taken from the Greek, such as



were those of Plautus or Terence. The chief writer of *togatae* was L. Afranius (b. about 150 B.C.), of whose plays more than forty titles are left. Menander was the most distinguished representative of the New Comedy at Athens.

58. T. Maccius Plautus (254-184 B.C.) has left us twenty comedies. He is here compared with Epicharmus of Cos (b. about 540 B.C.), who was brought in early life to Sicily and was the chief representative of Dorian comedy at the court of Hiero. The point of resemblance is indicated, though not very clearly, by the word *properare.* This may refer to the rapid development of the plot, as Horace says of Homer, A. P. 148, *semper ad eventum festinat*, or, more likely still, to the lively movement of the dialogue.

59. Statius Caecilius (d. 179 or 166 B.C.) was an Insubrian Gaul, a famous and prolific writer of comedy. Some forty titles of his plays are preserved. He was reckoned by some the greatest of Roman comic poets, though Cicero (ad Att. 7. 3) says of him, *malus auctor latinitatis.* — P. Terentius Afer (185–159 B.C.) has left us six delightful comedies. He is decidedly the most artistic and finished of all the earlier writers.

60. **ediscit**: referring more particularly to the epic poems, as of Ennius, while *spectat* looks to the dramas. — **theatro**: at this early date plays were given at Rome on temporary wooden stages. The first permanent stone theatre was erected by Pompey in the *campus Martius* in 55 B.C., and had room for forty thousand spectators.

61. **potens**: a touch of irony, contrasting Rome's outward glory with its imbecility in matters of literary taste.

62. **Livi**: Livius Andronicus is taken as the starting-point of Roman literature. A Greek by birth, he was brought as a prisoner and slave to Rome after the capture of Tarentum (272 B.C.). He brought out his first play in 240 B.C. Besides writing or translating a number of plays, he translated the Odyssey into verse.

63. **est ubi peccat**: see on S. 1. 4. 24; here the ind. is quite appropriate because of the definiteness of allusion.

66. **pleraque** = *permulta.* — **dure** has reference to harshness of thought or expression.

67. **dicere**: present, because authors continually speak through their writings. — **ignave**: "with tameness or flatness."

68. **mecum facit**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 23; *stands on my side.* — **Iove aequo**: i.e. *propitio.* As insanity comes through the anger of the gods, so a sound judgment is the sign of their favor; cf. S. 2. 3. 8, *dis iratis.*

70. **plagosum**: *fond of flogging;* here in an active sense, elsewhere passively.

71. Orbilius Pupillus was, according to Suetonius (Gramm. 9), a native of Beneventum, who came to Rome in the consulship of Cicero (63 B.C.), when fifty years of age, and opened a school. His sweet temper is attested by Horace's epithet and also by a line of the poet Domitius Marsus, *si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit.* He lived nearly a hundred years, and left a son to carry on his work. — **dictare**: that the boys might learn them by heart; see on S. 1. 10. 75, and cf. Ep. 1. 18. 12. — **emendata, pulchra, exactis**: *faultless, beautiful, perfect.*

74. **concinnior**: *more polished.*

75. **ducit**: "one fine verse opens the way for all the others, and draws them after it." Too exact a definition of the figure need not be sought.

77. **sed quia nuper**: sc. *compositum sit.*

78. **veniam**: *indulgence.*

79. 'If I ask whether the plays of Atta deserve their popularity, a cry of shame is raised.' — **crocum flores**: allusion is made to the common practice of sprinkling the stage with saffron essence, for the sake of its fragrance. That flowers were used for the same purpose is not elsewhere stated. That Horace speaks of these plays as tripping over the stage may be in allusion to the meaning of the word *Atta*, which, according to Festus, is applied to one who trips along rather than walks. T. Quinctius Atta (d. 77 B.C.) was, next to Afranius, the chief writer of *togatae;* we know of eleven titles of his plays.

81. **patres**: "the older generation," as *senes*, v. 85, and *patres*, v. 109.

82. Aesopus and Roscius were the most famous of Roman actors, and did much to keep alive a fondness for the drama in Cicero's time. Aesop's field was tragedy, therefore he is called *gravis;* while Roscius, being skilled in both tragedy and comedy, and being altogether a most cultured man, might well be styled *doctus.* Aesop's last appearance was in 55 B.C., at the dedication of Pompey's theatre. Roscius died in 62 B.C.



83. **sibi**: the use of the reflexive is not perfectly regular, but it carries out the logical dependence of the rel. cl. on *ducunt.*

86. **Saliare Numae carmen**: the Salii were a college of priests instituted by Numa for the cultus of Mars Gradivus. The songs of their ritual, called *axamenta*, obscure at the time of Varro, were almost unintelligible to Horace and Quintilian (1. 6. 40).

89. Pretending to admire such antiquated productions is not really praise of the past, but an envious hatred of the present.

90. We can refer to the example of the Greeks with much better right than these disciples of antiquity (cf. v. 28), for the Greeks were ever ready to receive and value what was new.

92. **publicus usus** is here personified: "what would the public have to read or thumb to pieces by individual use?" The Greek classics are spoken of as world property.

93. The readiness of the Greeks to adopt the new is contrasted with the conservatism of the Romans. The time indicated by *positis bellis, fortuna aequa, paces bonae ventique secundi*, is the close of the Persian wars, when, in the flush of victory, Athens leaped forward to universal pre-eminence. The Romans could not, however, with their sterner nature, justly value the artistic culture of the Greeks, nor forbear expressing a contempt for the accomplishments as contrasted with the realities of life. Hence, though Horace commends this versatility, yet his commendation is tempered by such expressions as *nugari, in vitium*, and the comparison of a spoiled child.

94. **in vitium**: *to excess;* cf. A. P. 282. — **labier**: for the form, see on S. 2. 8. 67.

95. **athletarum**: objective genitive. Reference is here made to the great national contests, as the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean games.

96. The names of such masters as Phidias, Polycletus, and Myron are still household words, and the remnants of their work the inspiration and despair of modern artists.

97. **suspendit**: cf. our expression *riveted*, used either of the eyes or the attention. Of Greek painting we have nothing left but a faint echo in the frescoing of Pompeii, but the stories told of Parrhasius and Zeuxis attest their magical skill.

98. **tibicinibus** is best taken for music in general, though some take it to refer to the development of the dithyramb by Lasus.

99. **sub nutrice**: just as if she were a little girl, playing under the care of her nurse.

100. **plena**: *when sated.* — **reliquit**: the subject is *Graecia.*

101. In contrast with this fickleness, the Romans long preserved their strict conservatism, and were content to fulfill the daily demands of domestic duty.

103. **mane**: cf. S. 1. 1. 10. The regular morning salutation began about sunrise. — **clienti**: clients were mostly foreigners, who had put themselves under the protection of some *paterfamilias;* some of them, too, were liberated slaves. Their relation to their patron, who protected them, above all things, before the law, was a very sacred one. Under the empire, this relation became thoroughly selfish on both sides.

104. **expendere**, etc.: *put out money secured by good names.* The *nomina recta* are those of the debtors themselves at the bottom of the note, not "*security*" in our modern, technical sense.

105. **minori dicere**: such instruction is eminently practical, having reference to business success and the avoidance of grosser vices that militate against it. The above description does not belong to one person or one scene; each phrase is rather a separate picture, all of them together giving an idea of ancient Roman life.

107. 'Obedient to the universal law of change, the spirit of the Romans has turned to literature, and all go wild with the rage of writing.' This verse is really 101 in the Mss., but as it is plainly out of place there, most editors have adopted the suggestion of Lachmann, who placed it after v. 106, where *mutabile* forms a happy transition to *mutavit* of the next line.

108. **mentem**: cf. Ep. 1. 1. 4, *non eadem est aetas, non mens.* — **levis** = *inconstans;* cf. *levitatem plerumque nunc pro inconstantia et mutabilitate dici audio,* Gell. 6. 11. With the same meaning *levitas* is used by Plancus, Cic. ad Fam. 10. 21. 1; cf. Od. 1. 6. 20; 3. 9. 22. — **calet**: *is fired;* cf. S. 2. 3. 79.

109. **puerique patresque**: this is the reading of Cruquius for the Mss. *pueri patresque.* Horace sometimes lengthens the penult of *patres* in the arsis, but there is no positive example of such



treatment in the thesis, though he does so use other words with *-tr-*, as *patrono,* Ep. 1. 7. 92; *retractus,* A. P. 468; *putrescat,* S. 2. 3. 119.

110. **fronde**: *edera, quae est poetarum,* Schol. Cruq.; cf. Od. 1. 1. 29. Even during dinner they have an amanuensis at hand to take down their poetical effusions.

111. Referring to the resolution expressed Ep. 1. 1. 10, now broken by the publication of the fourth book of the Odes.

112. **Parthis mendacior**: the Parthians, like the Carthaginians, were a type of duplicity and treachery; cf. *infidi Persae,* Od. 4. 15. 23.

113. **calamum**: the reed pen with which they wrote on papyrus (*charta*). The rolls were then preserved in cylindrical cases; cf. S. 1. 1. 120; Ep. 1. 20. 3.

114. In the pursuits of life skill is demanded, but for poetry neither inspiration nor information is required. — **habrotonum**: *Southernwood, Artemisia Abrotonum,* a plant akin to wormwood, whose leaves, according to the U. S. Dispensatory, have "a fragrant odor and a warm, bitter, nauseous taste, and were formerly employed as a tonic, deobstruent, and anthelmintic." It is described by Plin. H. N. 21. 92. 160, and, if we may trust the testimony of the scholiasts, seems to have been something of a home remedy. Hence the contrast is stronger, for even with this they are cautious, while reckless in poetical composition.

115. **quod medicorum est**: there is a repetition here of the preceding idea.

116. **promittunt**: *profess.*

118. **levis**: *mild.*

119. **virtutes** = *utilitates,* Schol. Cruq. — **sic collige**: cf. S. 2. 1. 51. Poets are innocent of evil (119–123), useful (124–131), even indispensable (132–138). Horace's lightness of tone soon grows more serious, and the concluding verses allude plainly to the composition of the Carmen Saeculare.

120. **non temere** = *non facile.*

122. **fraudem socio**: this was in Roman eyes one of the most heinous offences; in Od. 3. 24. 60 it is joined with violation of the guest right; cf. *in rebus minoribus socium fallere turpissimum est,* Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 40. 116. — **incogitat**: this is a new word coined

by Horace, possibly under the suggestion of the Greek ἐννοεῖν or ἐπιβουλεύειν. Horace's fondness for new compounds with *in* is noticeable; cf. *inaestuet*, Epod. 11. 15; *involitant*, Od. 4. 10. 3; *insudet*, S. 1. 4. 72; *inamarescunt*, S. 2. 7. 107.

123. **pupillo**: see on Ep. 1. 1. 22; cf. Juv. 1. 47, *spoliator pupilli*. — **siliquis**: strictly the pods of leguminous plants; here the plants themselves, as in Juv. 11. 58 and Pers. 3. 55. — **pane secundo**: the finest bread, made from the best wheat, was called *panis siligineus* or *similagineus*. An inferior quality, made from inferior wheat or from flour of second grade, as our *seconds* or *middlings*, was called *panis secundus*, *secundarius*, *cibarius*, *plebeius*, etc. Suetonius (Aug. 76) tells us that Augustus preferred this kind.

124. **militiae**: this is taken by some as locative, which form may be used even without *domi*, as Sall. Jug. 84; others consider it as dative, quoting *impiger militiae et acribus ministeriis*, Tac. Ann. 3. 48: *ministeriis*, however, does not depend on *impiger*, but on a following *adeptus*, and *militiae* should be taken as gen.; cf. Tac. Hist. 1. 87; 2. 5. Following those examples, we had best take it as genitive here. Wilkins quotes *seri studiorum*, S. 1. 10. 21.

126. **Os**: *speech;* the earliest instruction of the child is from the poets.

127. **iam nunc**: even in boyhood it weans their ears from the foul talk of servants and of nurses, while later (*mox*) it moulds their minds with more systematic precepts; cf. what is said of Homer, Ep. 1. 2. 3 ff. The educational effects of poetry are often alluded to by the ancients. Cf. A. P. 391 ff.; Cic. de Or. 3. 51. 197; Aristoph. Frogs, 1008 and 1030 ff.

130. **orientia tempora**: *the future generations.*

132. Special allusion is here made to the chorus of young men and maidens employed in the Saecular Games, Carm. Saec. 6.

134. **praesentia**: *present to hear and answer;* so Schol. Cruq., who interprets it with *propitia.*

135. Prayers for rain were addressed to Jupiter Pluvius.

136. To avoid evil, prayer was made to the *Di Averrunci*, or "*averting gods.*"

138. **manes**: here equal to *di inferi*, as in Verg. Georg. 4. 505, and not meaning as usual "the spirits of the departed."



139. The beginnings of poetry, in those old days of simplicity (v. 103), belonged to religion, and it was employed in festive hymns of thanksgiving when the harvest was gathered. From this it passed over to lighter uses, and was employed in the bantering Fescennine verses, until finally it had to be checked by law. — **fortes**: because *dura ferentes* (v. 141); cf. *fortem colonum*, S. 2. 2. 115. — **parvo . . . beati** = *contenti paucis*, Schol. Cruq.

140. **tempore festo**: abl. of instrument.

142. **pueris et coniuge**: in apposition with *sociis.*

143. **Tellurem**: among the twelve gods of agriculture mentioned by Varro, R. R. 1. 1. 4, the first are Jupiter and Tellus. Though often identified with the Greek Ceres, she preserves her individuality here and Carm. Saec. 29. — **porco**: *sow.* As the directions elsewhere specify the female for such sacrifices, we must regard *porco* as fem. here, just as Cato, R. R. 134, says *porco femina*, and Festus quotes *haec porcus.* — **Silvanum**: another rural deity, characterized (Epod. 2. 22) as *tutor finium.* Probably it is his care for the flocks that is indicated by the offering of milk. Milk is mentioned as offered to Pales (Tib. 1. 1. 36; Ov. Fast. 4. 746) and to Pan (Tib. 2. 5. 27). Vergil (Aen. 8. 600) speaks of Silvanus as honored by the Pelasgians, predecessors of the Latins, as the god of field and flock.

144. **Genium**: see on Ep. 1. 7. 94. Remembering the shortness of life, the genius, in thorough sympathy with Horace's philosophy (cf. Od. 1. 11. 8) is ready to enjoy the present. Out of the preceding *piabant* we had best supply a *placabant* for *Genium*, as A. P. 210.

145. **Fescennina . . . licentia**: the Fescennine verses were one of the oldest forms of folk comedy, and seem to have consisted of exchange of rude joking and banter. Horace makes them invented or hit upon in the course of rural festivals, such as above described, *inventa per hunc morem;* cf. Verg. Georg. 2. 385 ff. The name may have been derived from the place of their origin, Fescennia, an Etrurian town on the Tiber, near Falerii; just as the Atellanae, another species of low comedy, got their name from Atella. Later, the term was especially applied to coarse songs sung at marriage festivals; cf. *ne diu taceat procax Fescennina iocatio*, Catull. 61. 122; also to scurrilous verses in general, such as Augustus was said (Macrob. 2. 4. 21) to have written against Pollio.

147. **accepta**: *welcomed through succeeding years.*

148. **amabiliter**: opposed to *iam saevus.*

150. **cruento dente**: referring to *rabiem* above.

151. **intactis**: cf. S. 2. 1. 23.

152. **super**: this use of *super* for *de* is found in early writers and in Livy; in Cicero, only in his letters; cf. Draeg. § 300. — **lex**: see on S. 2. 1. 81.

153. **poenaque lata**: a slight zeugma; with *poena*, *illata* is to be supplied from *lata*. With regard to laws, *fero* means *to propose*, *perferre*, *to carry;* but sometimes, where exactness is not sought, *ferre* may have the latter force. — **quae nollet**: a mixture of characteristic and purpose, *nollet* having almost the force of *prohiberet.*

154. "And poets sang henceforth in sweeter tones,
Compelled to please by terror for their bones." Con.

— **formidine fustis**: with allusion to the old punishment of *fustuarium*, or cudgelling to death. Death was the punishment for such attacks under the XII tables, but not by the provisions of Sulla's laws.

156–176. 'To Grecian influence is due the development, out of these rude beginnings, of a genuine form of art. Greek metres took the place of the rude Saturnian rhythm, and tragedy and comedy were developed.' — **Graecia capta**: as Greece was not finally subdued till the conquest of Carthage, 146 B.C., this must refer to the subjugation of the Greek cities of Southern Italy, commencing with that of Tarentum, 272 B.C. This was the channel through which Greek literature found its way to Rome.

158. **defluxit**: used of the flowing away of water and of the gradual disappearance of anything, as of hair or teeth. — **numerus Saturnius**: this was the native form of Italian verse, with six accents to the line, which finds a close parallel in our nursery rhyme, "The queen was in her parlor, eating bread and honey." The typical Latin specimen is *dabunt malúm Metélli Naévió poétae*, but it was very irregular and was by no means confined to this norm. It is, therefore, not improperly called *horridus.* The use of *ille* refers to it as the one prevalent measure of that early time, and so used in those *versus alterni* (v. 146). Its decline dates from the introduction of the dactylic hexameter by Ennius (see on v. 50), though it was still used and is found in inscriptions for some time afterwards. — **grave virus**: *virus* is any poison or offensive fluid, and is here applied to the offensive habits and poetic secretions of those early times.



160. **manent**: in the mimes, Atellanae, and Fescennine verses.

161. **Serus**: agrees with *Romanus*, to be supplied from *ferum victorem.*

162. **post Punica bella quietus**: cf. *positis nugari Graecia bellis coepit*, v. 93. Allusion is made to the repose after the second Punic war; the third, as being less important, is not included. Aulus Gellius (17. 21. 45) quotes a similar statement from Porcius Licinus (flor. 100 B.C.): *Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.*

163. Thespis, Aeschylus, and Sophocles represent the three stages in the development of Attic tragedy. Thespis was its real inventor, Aeschylus introduced a second actor, and Sophocles a third. See further on A. P. 275 ff. — **quid . . . utile ferrent**: characteristic of the practical Roman mind.

164. **Temptavit . . . rem**: a general phrase, like our "tried their hand"; cf. Liv. 2. 35, *temptata res est, si disicere rem possent;* also Liv. 1. 57, *temptata res est, si capi Ardea posset.* — **vertere**: to transfer the authors just mentioned — in fine, the Attic stage — to Rome.

165. The fondness of the Romans for action, together with their oratorical endowment and love of the sublime, made tragedy popular among them.

166. **spirat tragicum**: cf. *altum spirans*, Stat. Silv. 5. 3. 11. The use of *spiro* and *spiritus* of poetic creation (Od. 4. 3. 2; 2. 16. 38; 4. 6. 29) is in imitation of the use of πνεῖν by the Alexandrians referring to the flute-playing of the muses; cf. Μοῦσ' ἀδύπνοος, Pind. Ol. 13. 22. — **satis**: best taken with *et feliciter*, as the caesura would indicate.

167. Cf. A. P. 290; S. 1. 10. 72.

168. **ex medio**: the subject-matter of comedy is taken, not from the old myths, but from the experience of life.

170. **veniae minus**: less indulgence is given to comedy, because its subject-matter can be criticised even by the common people. This assertion is illustrated by a criticism of Plautus in his devel-

opment of certain characters, in his exaggeration of the parasites, and in the slovenliness of his composition.

171. **quo pacto**: *hoc est, quam indecenter, incongrue*, Porph. —**tutetur**: the poet Plautus is here identified with the person that sustains either of these roles in different plays; as, for example, in the Pseudolus the *amans ephebus* is Calidorus, the *pater attentus*, Simo, and the *leno insidiosus*, Ballio. —**ephebi**: the Greek term is appropriate in speaking of characters in the *palliatae*. "An Athenian was strictly ἔφηβος from the age of eighteen to twenty, during which time he had to serve as περίπολος, but the term was loosely used of youths after sixteen, when they commenced their regular training in the gymnasia." Mayor on Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 28. 79.

173. **Dossennus**: Schol. Cruq. says *Atellanarum scriptor*, but this is only a guess, for Horace is speaking of Plautus throughout. Dossennus was rather a standing character in the Atellan farces, like Bucca, Maccus, or Pappus. The name is for Dorsennus, from *dorsum*, he being probably represented as a hunchback. His character seems to have been one of extreme shrewdness. Festus mentions an Atellan play of Novius called *Duo Dossenni*. The idea may be that Plautus, among the parasites he himself describes, is a very Dossennus, chiefest of all. Why this is so appears from v. 175. And yet it is not so much a feature of his character that we expect to find here as some characteristic of him as poet. We must therefore think of Dossennus as an object of ridicule. Such, says Horace, is Plautus himself in describing his voracious parasites.

174. This alludes to his carelessness of verse; cf. the criticism of Atta, v. 79, *recte necne . . . perambulet;* of Lucilius, S. 1. 10. 1, *incomposito pede currunt;* and of Plautus again, A. P. 270 ff. —**socco**: the low, slipper-like shoe of comedy, opposed to the *coturnus* of tragedy. Milton speaks of "Jonson's learned sock."

175. Plautus cares only for money, not for the lasting merit of his play. Theatrical exhibitions were given at such public festivals as the *ludi Romani* (Sept. 4–19), *ludi plebeii* (Nov. 4–17), *ludi Apollinares* (July 6–13), *ludi Megalenses* (April 4–10). They were under the supervision of the Aediles or Praetors, to whom a sum of money was furnished from the treasury, although, to



make their celebrations more splendid, they added to this from their own pockets. Poets sold their plays to stage managers, who saw to the performance of the piece. Terence is said to have received eight thousand sesterces for his Eunuchus.

176. **cadat**, etc.: *fails or stands on steady foot.*

177. He who rises above such mercenary motives, and is moved by love of fame, is dependent on the freak of his audience, corrupt in taste and fond only of the spectacular. —**scaenam**: this is the approved spelling (cf. Ribbeck, Prol. in Verg., p. 387), though it is wrong etymologically, as the word represents the Greek σκηνή. The fixing of the spelling *scaena* comes from a time when *ae* was already taking the sound of *e*. The term σκηνή means a tent or covered structure, and designated properly the building at the rear of the stage, which was itself called προσκήνιον. —**ventoso**: cf. S. 1. 6. 23; alluding to the fickleness of fame.

179. **leve**: in weight. —**parvum**: in size. —**avarum**: cf. A. P. 324; an intensified *avidum*.

180. **Valeat**: *good-bye to; I want nothing to do with.* Cf. *valete curae mortales, ego sic perire coepi*, Petron. 79. —**res ludicra**: *the stage.*

181. **palma**: the practice of giving a palm branch to the victor in the games, in addition to the regular prize, was brought by Alexander from the Orient. Introduced at Rome as early as 295 B.C., it soon became the symbol of victory; cf. Od. 1. 1. 5. —**reducit**: *leads home.*

182. **fugat . . . terretque**: a case of ὕστερον πρότερον.

183. **numero plures** = *plebecula*, v. 186. The majority are generally *virtute et honore minores.*

184. **depugnare**: ready to fight it out with their fists, if the better part of the audience should make any objection to their demands.

185. **eques**: see on S. 1. 10. 76. —**media inter carmina**: *carmen* may be used for the whole play, as A. P. 220, or possibly it refers to the *cantica*, or monologues, which were apt to be less entertaining than other parts of the play.

186. **ursum aut pugiles**: Terence complained, in the prologue to Hecyra, that the first exhibition of that play was interrupted by a neighboring rope-dancer and the second by the announcement of

a gladiatorial contest. Now things have come to a worse pass, and the very stage must be turned over to boxers and menageries. To this degeneracy of taste Augustus is said to have contributed; *spectaculorum et assiduitate et varietate et magnificentia omnes antecessit*, Suet. Aug. 43.

189. **premuntur**: the curtains of the Roman theatre were raised from below (*tolli*) to hide the stage, and lowered when the performance began.

190. The scene that follows depicts the passage of a triumphal procession across the stage, and may have been taken from some *praetexta*. Cicero, in a letter to M. Marius, complains of the needless scenic display introduced by Sp. Maecius Tarpa at the dedication of Pompey's theatre in 55 B.C.; *quid enim delectationis habent sescenti muli in Clytemnestra* (of Accius?) *aut in Equo Troiano* (of Naevius?) *creterrarum tria milia aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent*, ad Fam. 7. 1.

191. **regum fortuna** = *reges infortunati*.

192. The *essedum* was a British or Belgic war-chariot, two-wheeled, open in front. The *pilentum* was a covered, two-wheeled, luxurious chariot, used by women on great occasions and in religious processions. For *petorritum*, see on S. 1. 6. 104. — **naves**: probably beaks of ships representing a naval victory. So Propertius saw *regum auratis circumdata colla catenis Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra via*, 2. 1. 33.

193. **captivum . . . ebur**: either statues and other articles made of ivory, or simply elephant tusks, of which we are told that more than twelve hundred were carried in the triumphal procession of Scipio over Antiochus, Liv. 37. 59. — **captiva Corinthus**: vessels of the famous Corinthian bronze, or in general, "booty from Corinth," such as Mummius exhibited in great profusion in his triumph; *signa aerea marmoreaque et tabulas pictas in triumpho tulit*, Liv. perioch. 52.

194. Democritus, of the Ionic colony of Abdera in Thrace, born about 460 B.C., was the chief expounder of the atomic theory. Later traditions made him the laughing philosopher, whose risibilities were always excited by the follies of mankind. In this capacity he is contrasted with Heraclitus, the weeping philosopher. Cf. Juv. 10. 28; Cic. de Or. 2. 58. 235.



195. **panthera camelo**: "a panther mingled in its unlike nature with the camel," Wilkins. This is merely a circumlocution for *camelopardalis*, the camelopard or giraffe, which was first brought to Rome from Alexandria to adorn Caesar's triumphal games in 46 B.C.; cf. Varro, L. L. 5. 100; Dio Cass. 43. 23; Plin. H. N. 8. 18. 27. This specimen Horace had probably seen. They were afterward more frequent at Rome, but were unknown in modern Europe till one was brought to Paris in 1824. The name "giraffe" is from the Arabian *Zarapha*.

198. **nimio . . . plura**: see on Ep. 1. 10. 30.

199. **asello . . . surdo**: the populace is stupid as an ass and deaf as a post. Horace combines two proverbial expressions: the one taken from a Greek fable which tells of a man talking to an ass (Zenob. 5. 42), and the other appearing in its simple form in Ter. Heaut. 222, *surdo fabellam narrare*.

200. **voces**: of the actors.

201. **evaluere**: gnomic perf.

202. **Garganum**: cf. Od. 2. 9. 6. A mountain range and promontory in Apulia.

203. **artes**: *works of art*; cf. Od. 4. 8. 5; Ep. 1. 6. 17.

204. **divitiaeque peregrinae**: as displayed in the actors' dresses. — **oblitus**: Yonge quotes Milton's expression, "besmeared with gold," Par. L. 5. 356.

206. These are remarks of one spectator to another.

207. **Tarentino . . . veneno**: *venenum* is here *dye-stuff*, as φάρμακον. The purple of Tarentum was only inferior to that of Tyre, Plin. 9. 39. 137; see on Ep. 1. 10. 26.

208. Lest he seem to be assuming the same attitude toward the drama as the fox toward the grapes, Horace hastens to add that he admires nothing more than the true dramatic poet.

209. **maligne**: *stintedly*; opposite of *benigne*.

210. **per extentum funem**: *to walk a tight rope*; used of anything of exceeding difficulty.

211. **inaniter**: *with unrealities*. — **angit . . . terroribus**: to excite pity and terror is, according to Aristotle, the chief office of tragedy.

213. **ut magus et**: *and as a magician.*

214. Turning from the drama, Horace now invokes the favor of Augustus for other species of poetry, that speak through the page, not from the stage. — **et his**: *to these too; et = etiam.*

216. **curam redde brevem**: *pay some little attention.* — **redde**: not *give back*, but *give as a due*, in return for their dedication of the poems to you. For this use of *reddo*, cf. Od. 2. 7. 17; 2. 17. 30. — **munus Apolline dignum**: this was a library of Latin and Greek authors which Augustus had added to the temple of Apollo that he had built on the Palatine 28 B.C.; cf. Ep. 1. 3. 17. Propertius (3. 29) describes its handsome doors, columns, etc.

218. **Helicona virentem**: *the verdant Helicon.* This was a mountain, or rather mountain range, in Boeotia, sacred to Apollo and the muses; these are often called, by both Latin and Greek poets, "daughters of Helicon" ('Ελικωνιάδες); cf. *Heliconidas*, Pers. Prol. 4.

219. "Certainly we poets are often very much to blame for your coldness towards us; we are obtrusive, vain, presuming."

220. **ut . . . caedam**: i.e. *ut mihi non parcam. Proverbium in eos dicitur qui sibi volentes nocent*, Schol. Cruq. Cf. Tib. 1. 2. 100, *quid messis uris acerba tuas.*

221. Cf., by way of contrast, Horace's delicacy in Ep. 1. 13. — **cum laedimur**: the sensitiveness of poets and other artists has always been marked. Horace calls them *genus irritabile vatum*, Ep. 2. 2. 102. That Horace fully appreciated the value of criticism appears from a number of passages; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 109 ff.; A. P. 435 ff.

223. **loca**: in this sense stricter usage would have the masc.; on the other hand, in the sense of *places*, though *loca* is more usual, yet *loci* is by no means infrequent. — **revolvimus**: *wind the roll back again to the commencement of the passage.*

224. **apparere**: *attract attention.*

225. **tenui . . . filo**: *and our poems fashioned with such delicate skill.* The application to literary composition of terms taken from spinning is very common; cf. S. 1. 10. 43; S. 2. 1. 3.

227. **rescieris**: perf. subj. — **commodus**: *obligingly.* — **ultro**: *of your own accord.*

229. 'But still, great rulers need worthy singers, and it is worthy of your position to pay attention to literary merit.'



230. **aedituos**: *aedes . . . tueor; quasi a tuendis aedibus appellatus*, Gell. 12. 10. The older word in this sense was *aeditumus*, formed like *finitimus*, for which *aedituus* was born in Varro's time in etymologizing travail; cf. Varro, R. R. 1. 2. Lucretius (6. 1275) ventured to use a participial formation, *aedituentes.* The poets are the temple-keepers, who guard the shrine and sing the praises of virtue. — **habeat**: not representing the ind., but being an original subj., *qualis habere debeat.* — **spectata**: cf. Ep. 1. 1. 2.

233. **Choerilus**: "There were three well-known poets of this name. (1) Choerilus of Athens, one of the earliest tragic poets, who produced many plays between 523 B.C. and 483 B.C.; (2) Choerilus of Samos, the composer of an epic poem on the Persian wars, a younger contemporary and friend of Herodotus; (3) Choerilus of Iasos, also an epic poet, but of a very inferior kind, who followed Alexander to Asia. This last one is here meant. In A. P. 357 he is taken as the type of a poet who sometimes 'deviates into' excellence." Wilkins. He celebrated Alexander's deeds in a poem for which he was lavishly rewarded. Porphyrio says, *acceperat autem pro singulis versibus singulos Philippos.* — **incultis . . . et male natis**: *neque arte neque natura facientis ornatis*, Porph. The case of *versibus* is dative.

234. **rettulit acceptos**: the phrase is taken from book-keeping, where *acceptum referre* or *in acceptum referre* is 'to enter on the credit side,' while 'to debit' is *expensum ferre.* "He sets to the credit of his poems," i.e. "he pockets as their gain." — **regale numisma**: "The right of coining gold was always reserved to themselves by the kings of Macedon, as by the kings of Persia and afterwards by the Romans, while subject states and districts were often permitted to coin silver." Wilkins. — **Philippos**: στατῆρες Φιλίππειοι, Macedonian staters. These were of fine gold, coined by Philip II. and Alexander; they came into general circulation throughout Greece and the Macedonian empire. Many specimens have been preserved and analyzed. The stater contained 133 grains of gold, representing a present value of about $5.75. In its relation to the drachma, a silver coin, it was less than four dollars, being about the same as the napoleon. This discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that the ratio of gold to silver was then about 1 to 10, while now it is about 1 to 15½.

235. **Sed**: introduces a contrast to *gratus fuit*, and seems to look for a particular statement, as e.g. *sed carmine malo splendida facta foedavit*. But as the comparison with the blotting power of ink comes first, the thought becomes more general, and all poets who lack real inspiration and sink to the level of mere manipulators of the pen and ink (*scriptores*) are included in the condemnation.

236. **atramenta**: there were three kinds of ink in common use: *atramentum librarium*, or *scriptorium*; *tectorium*, or *pictorium*; and *sutorium*. — **fere**: so in general.

238. **care . . . emit**: cf. *bene* or *male emere*.

239. **edicto vetuit**: this story, first mentioned by Cicero, ad Fam. 5. 12, is repeated by Pliny, H. N. 7. 37. 125, *idem hic imperator edixit nequis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles scalperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret*. Apelles was the greatest painter, as Lysippus of Sicyon was the greatest worker in bronze, of the fourth century B.C. The pictures of Apelles represented Alexander wielding the thunderbolt.

240. **duceret aera**: *ducere* is the technical expression for working in bronze; cf. Pliny above, *ex aere ducere*. Here *aera* means bronze figures, as Tac. Dial. 11, *imagines et aera*.

242. **subtile videndis artibus**: the best interpretation is to take *videre* as equal to *visu aestimare* or *diiudicare*, "a judgment skillful in passing on works of art"; *artes* in itself refers to painting, statuary, etc., as opposed to literature. The case of *artibus* is dat., being used for *ad* with the acc., though it may be abl. of respect, where prose would add the preposition *in*.

244. **Boeotum**: gen. pl. = Βοιωτῶν. The original Indo-European ending of the gen. pl. of substantives was *-om*, which in Latin became *-um*, in Greek *-ων*. In *a*-stems in Greek, Latin, Oscan, and Umbrian, the pronominal ending of the gen. pl., *-som*, prevailed, which gave such forms as *τᾱσων > τάων > τῶν and *ista-rum*. This ending *-rum* was in Latin carried over to the *o*-stems also, so that we have *servorum*, etc. The older form in *-um* is found in many inscriptions, as *Romanom*, survived regularly in a few words, as *sestertium*, *denarium*, and is used by the poets in a number of national names, as here. The forms in *-um* are by no means contractions of those in *-orum*. — **crasso . . . aere**: the thick air and the thick heads of Boeotia, in contrast with their more sprightly neighbors, the Athenians, was a favorite reflection among the ancients; cf. *Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani*, Cic. de Fato 4. Horace's representation of Alexander's aesthetic culture is calculated to add weight to his praise of Augustus in his relation to literature, but was hardly in accord with the truth. Aristotle's pupil could not have been such a dunce in literature. There is, too, a tradition preserved by Acro that, in the case of the poem alluded to above, Alexander agreed to give Choerilus a Philippus for every good verse and a fillip, or rather a blow, for every bad one, and that the poet died of the blows received; that he added, furthermore, that he had rather be the Thersites of Homer than the Achilles of Choerilus.



245. **At neque**, etc.: *your chosen poets do you honor.*

246. **munera**: Servius says that Vergil was handsomely rewarded by Augustus for his lines on Marcellus, Aen. 6. 868 ff. — **dantis**: objective genitive.

247. **Varius**: see on Ep. 1. 16. 27 and S. 1. 5. 40. Vergil died in 19 B.C., and probably Varius was also dead at this time.

248. Alexander is not more surely immortalized in the bronze of Lysippus than are you in the verses of these poets.

250. 'I would fain join their number and sing of your deeds, were I fit for the task.' — **sermones** includes both the satires and epistles; see on Ep. 1. 4. 1.

251. **repentis per humum**: see on S. 2. 6. 17. — **res componere gestas**: "to picture deeds of prowess in an epic poem, to describe strange lands and mighty rivers, the storming of citadels perched on mountain heights, and the subjugation of barbarian kingdoms." That Horace may, just at this time, have been thinking of describing Augustus's deeds at length in some poem seems likely from the opening lines of Od. 4. 15; he may also have had in mind the exploits of Drusus and Tiberius, as described Od. 4. 4 and 14.

254. Alluding to the general pacification of the Roman empire after the battle of Actium, and the closing of the temple of Janus in 29 and 25 B.C.

256. The recovery of the Roman standards from the Parthians

was a matter of the greatest satisfaction and pride at Rome, and is often alluded to; cf. Ep. 1. 12. 27; Carm. Saec. 53.

257. **cuperem**: assimilated in mood and tense to *possem;* the desire is real.

259. **recusent**: cf. v. 258 and A. P. 39.

260. **stulte**: better joined with *urget;* boring one's friends is the special mark of fools. Pope translates:

> The zeal of fools offends at any time,
> But most of all the zeal of fools in rhyme.

261. **numeris . . . et arte** = *numerorum arte.*

262. **discit**: *aliquis* supplied from the following *quis* is the subject both of *discit* and *meminit;* "a caricature fastens itself more forcibly in the minds of men than a noble picture."

264. **Nil moror**: cf. Ep. 1. 15. 16, and see Harper's Lex. s.v. II. B. "I care nothing for a service that bores me," the offering of some one's *sedulitas* (v. 260).

265. **proponi**: *offered for sale.* Waxen images of deceased ancestors were preserved in all noble families, and similar busts of living persons may have been prepared for the market. This is all the more likely as Horace is simply substituting himself for Augustus in this passage.

267. **pingui . . . munere**: *stupid gift,* sign of a *pingue ingenium,* S. 2. 6. 14. The closing picture is that of a funeral procession. The roll of parchment in its *capsa,* finding no sale, dishonoring the author and the subject of the poem, will be sent down to the market-place to be used as wrapping paper. The *capsa* (see on S. 1. 4. 22) is here the bier (*sandapila*) on which the poorer classes were borne to the grave. In similar vein *porrectus* and *operta* are used.

269. **vicum**: see on S. 1. 9. 13. Probably he is alluding to the *Vicus Tuscus,* which was in a low part of the city (therefore *deferar*) and led from the forum towards the Tiber; cf. S. 2. 3. 228. This would seem to have been a favorite quarter for small shops and such like. — **odores**: *unguents.*



## EPISTLE II.

Though addressed to Julius Florus, Horace has a wider public constantly in mind in writing this epistle. Its theme is in general the same as that of Ep. 1. 1:

> nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono;
> quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum.

Argument: I told you, Florus, that I was a poor correspondent, so you have no cause to complain, no more than if you should purchase a slave with known defects (1–24). And you ask me for verses, too! Like the soldier of Lucullus, I have feathered my nest and do not care to venture into verse again (24–54). The years are robbing me of my muse, and men vary so in their tastes that I cannot hope to please them (55–64). Think, too, of the noise and confusion of Rome. How can I write in such a bedlam (65–80)? Even under the most favorable surroundings the poet is sometimes marred, not made (81–86). All writers are members of a mutual admiration society, from whose fetters I am free only when my pen is idle (87–105). The scribbler can be happy in his own conceit, but the true poet must labor so constantly, so earnestly, so minutely, that one is almost in despair and ready to wish for the mental blindness of the Argive theatre-maniac (106–140). The best use of clear-sightedness is to avoid poetry, and turn from harmony of numbers to harmony of life (141–145). Have you ever considered the eternal folly of avarice (146–179)? I esteem myself happy in being able to avoid hurtful extremes, and move calmly along my own course (180–204). But there are many other evils that he who seeks to live with understanding must shun, and there is a time of life when pleasure ought to become tiresome to a man of noble nature (204–216).

In the year 20 B.C. Tiberius was placed by Augustus in command of an army, and sent to the east to establish Tigranes on the throne of Armenia in the place of Artaxias. For this expedition Tiberius had with him a retinue of literary companions, several of whom are mentioned in Ep. 1. 3. Among these was Julius Florus, to whom the epistle just mentioned, as well as this one, is addressed.

Of him we know little besides what Horace tells us. In Ep. 1. 3. 21 ff. he is spoken of as one able to win distinction in oratory, law, or poetry. Porphyrio adds: *hic Florus scriba fuit saturarum scriptor, cuius sunt electae ex Ennio, Lucilio, Varrone saturae.* The date of the present epistle is not evident. The whole tone points to a time when Horace was still firm in his devotion to philosophy, and before he had backslidden and basked again, as Wilkins puts it, in the Indian summer of lyric melody (17–13 B.C.). Probably we are to assign it to 19 B.C. or the following year, when Tiberius was still absent in the Orient.

1. **bono claroque**: these words may refer, by a kind of good-natured and poetic exaggeration, to the military successes of Tiberius, or may be more general, *clare* referring to his distinguished birth, and *bono* to his character, which was most excellent in his early life. As Allen says in the introduction to his edition of the Annals, p. xiv., "If he had died in the year 29, after a reign of fifteen years, he would have come down to posterity as one of the best of Roman emperors." See on Ep. 1. 9. 4. — **amice**: he was one of the *cohors amicorum*, or retinue that Tiberius carried with him; cf. Ep. 1. 3. 6.

3. **Tibure vel Gabiis**: giving individuality to the picture, as *Aricini et Veientis arvi*, v. 167. — **agat**: *bargain.*

4. **candidus**: as mental qualities are mentioned later, this must be taken as describing his person, *fair, comely.* — **talos a vertice . . . ad imos**: *from the crown of the head to the sole of the feet;* proverbial, as with us; cf. S. 1. 9. 10. Of the literal truth of such statements buyers of slaves assured themselves by personal inspection. Cf. Sen. Controv. 1. 2; Ep. 80; Mart. 6. 82. 1 ff.

5. **fiet eritque**: with the superfluous garrulity of a *mango.* — Eight thousand sesterces was equal to about $350. Hannibal sold slaves into Greece at one-fourth of this amount. Cato the Censor paid for farm hands fifteen hundred denarii (drachmas), or about $260. Literary or accomplished slaves brought sometimes fabulous prices, four thousand to twenty-eight thousand dollars.

6. **verna**: such household slaves were more trustworthy than foreigners. Atticus is said to have kept only *vernae* in his house.

7. **litterulis**: the diminutive emphasizes the smallness of his knowledge, which is already indicated by *imbutus*, with which cf. *elementis studiorum etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus*, Tac. Dial. 19; *quasi non perfectum litteris sed imbutum*, Suet. Gram. 4. — **arti**: in this connexion it signifies especially reading aloud and writing; other lighter accomplishments are referred to just below.



8. **argilla**: a condensed comparison, as v. 28 and 98.

10. **levant**: *leviorem faciunt, minuunt*, Schol. Cruq.

11. **extrudere**: indicating his determination to get rid of his wares.

12. **meo sum pauper in aere**: *I am poor, but not in debt* (i.e. *in alieno aere*); cf. *hominem . . . non modo in aere alieno nullo, sed in suis nummis multis esse*, Cic. Verr. 4. 6. 11.

13. **faceret tibi**: cf. S. 1. 1. 63. — **non temere**: see on Ep. 2. 1. 120.

14. **ferret idem**: after the analogy of *ferre munus*, Od. 4. 8. 5. — **cessavit**: *played truant;* this is the slave-dealer's euphemism. He was not exactly a *fugitivus*, but an *erro*, in which sense Horace seems to use *cessator*, S. 2. 7. 100. An *erro* is thus defined in Dig. XXI. 1. 17. 14, *qui quidem non fugit sed frequenter sine causa vagatur et temporibus in res nugatorias consumptis serius domum redit.*

15. **in scalis**: the houses were poorly lighted, and the corner under the stairs afforded a convenient hiding-place. Cicero, in his oration for Milo (15. 40), speaks of Clodius hiding himself there. — **pendentis habenae**: the whip was hung up in some conspicuous part of the house; the milder instrument of punishment was called *scutica*, the more severe *flagellum.*

16. The speech of the *mango* must end at v. 15, for he would hardly use so harsh a term as *fuga* in speaking of his own slaves. The construction of *des* admits of discussion. It is best, with Schütz, to consider the apodosis as beginning with v. 17, and *des* to be a continuation of the condition (v. 2), with its own special protasis, *excepta . . . laedit:* "*if any one should say . . . and you should complete the trade, then he would have nothing to fear, seeing that you took no exception to him on account of his flight.*" — **excepta**: a slave sold is guaranteed in all points not mentioned; as the flight of this one was mentioned, it is excepted from the

guarantee and the vendor could not be held responsible; cf. *mentem . . . dominus exciperet, cum venderet*, S. 2. 3. 285. — **laedit**: see App.

17. **opinor**: generally punctuated so as to go with the preceding, but Kiessling takes it with the following verse, after the analogy of its use in S. 1. 3. 53; Ep. 1. 16. 78.

18. **prudens**: *with eyes open, providens.*

19. **insequeris**: *will you prosecute?* — **moraris**: *annoy.*

20. The *piger* will not, the *mancus* cannot, write.

21. **officiis**: most probably dative, though Harper's Lex. takes it as ablative; cf. note on *altibus*, Ep. 2. 1. 243.

22. **rediret**: *in answer to yours.*

23. **mecum facientia**: see on Ep. 2. 1. 68.

24. **super hoc**: *in addition to this.*

25. **carmina**: lyric poetry, as v. 59.

26. **Luculli miles**: the point of the story does not appear till v. 40, or more clearly v. 52. What basis of truth the story had is impossible for us to determine. It is plainly exaggerated, so much so that the scholiasts interpret *miles* as used collectively, whereby the narrative is referred to some daring deed of a whole division of the army. This interpretation makes the story in itself more plausible, yet it obscures the reference to Horace. Lucullus carried on the war against Mithridates from the year of his consulship, 74 B.C., till 67 B.C. On account of a mutiny of his troops he was then compelled to cease from aggressive measures, and was succeeded in command by Glabrio, though the next year Pompey came to succeed them both. — **viatica**: strictly provisions for a journey, regularly furnished by the state for the officers, etc., but here used of the soldier's own savings; cf. Ep. 1. 17. 54.

28. **lupus**: apposition instead of comparison; cf. v. 8.

30. **deiecit**: a technical military term.

32. The booty was properly the property of the state, but after the campaign was ended, at the celebration of the triumph by the victorious general, a part of it was divided out among the soldiers. These portions were called *donativa*. Sometimes the soldiers received their share of the booty immediately on its capture, as here. The amount here received is about eight hundred dollars. Decorations of various kinds were conferred on soldiers who distinguished themselves in battle; such were crowns, spears without points (*hastae purae*), necklaces (*torques*), bracelets (*armillae*), etc.



33. **nummum**: for the form, see on Ep. 2. 1. 244.

34. **praetor**: in its wider or more original sense of *general* or *commander*, *prae-itor* = στρατηγός; cf. *in re militari praetor dictus qui praeiret exercitui*, Varro, L. L. 5. 87.

39. **ibit, ibit**: answering satirically the exhortation *i, i*, of the general.

40. The use of the girdle as a purse is attested by a number of passages from Latin authors. The money could be hid in the folds of the girdle, or carried in a bag attached to the same; cf. *cum Romam profectus sum, zonas, quas plenas argenti extuli, eas ex provincia inanes rettuli*, Gell. 15. 12.

41. The story is now applied by Horace to himself. Rome, Athens (v. 43), and Philippi (v. 49) are the three most striking landmarks in his life. For Horace's coming to Rome, cf. S. 1. 6. 76. Homer was one of the first authors studied at school; *optime institutum est, ut ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet*, Quintil. 1. 18. The later Greeks indicate stupidity by the proverb, οὐδὲ τὴν Ἀχιλλέως μῆνιν ἴσασι.

43. **bonae** agrees with *Athenae, kind Athens;* cf. *loco grato*, v. 46. Horace's heart warms at the recollection of his school days at Athens. Since the time of Sulla the fashion was becoming well nigh universal for young men to spend a few years at Athens finishing their education. If Horace went to Athens, as is likely, in the year 45 B.C., he had as companions, among others, the younger Cicero and Bibulus (see on S. 1. 10. 86).

44. **curvo**: abl., as Ep. 1. 15. 29. In *curvum* and *rectum* we have an application of geometry to morals. Similarly *pravum* means *crooked*, and our *wrong* is *wrung, warped.*

45. **silvas Academi**: the enclosure sacred to the hero Academus was six stadia (three-fourths of a mile) from Athens, on the way to Colonus. It was laid out and planted by Cimon, and was famed as the place where Plato and his followers taught. Its fine grove of plane and olive trees was destroyed by Sulla in the siege of Athens, but had doubtless been restored before this time. The head of the Academic school at the time Horace was there was Theomnestus, but we do not know that he taught in the Academy.

Cicero (de Fin. 5. 1) says that his teacher, Antiochus, taught *in eo gymnasio quod Ptolemaeum vocatur.* Neither have we the right to infer that Horace devoted himself especially to the Academic school; the reference here is general and typical. The subject studied is philosophy; *curvo dinoscere rectum* indicates its ethical, and *quaerere verum* its dialectical side.

46. **dura . . . tempora**: *troublous times*, consequent on the death of Caesar.

47. **tulit aestus**, etc.: *and the waves of civil strife dashed me all inexperienced into ranks not destined to withstand the prowess of Caesar Augustus.* — **tulit**: cf. Od. 2. 7. 15.

49. **Unde**: *ex armis.* — **simul primum**: *st. simul ac primum.* This is rare, and pronounced suspicious by Draeger, II. p. 601.

50. **decisis . . . pennis**: the figure is suddenly changed; the wings of the soaring eagle are clipped, and he falls to the ground.

51. **laris et fundi**: *home and hearth.* This alludes to the loss of his paternal estate near Venusia, probably by confiscation at the hands of the triumvirate. — **paupertas impulit**: the poems alluded to may have been some of the earliest of his satires and epodes, and others like them. That he received any pay for them is most unlikely, but poverty made him bold to speak his mind and to start upon his career with these first efforts. Poverty has always been a moving force in every sphere of life; cf. *ἀ πενία μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει*, Theocr. 21. 1; *illa* (i.e. *paupertas*) *artis omnis perdocet*, Plaut. Stich. 178. See Introduction, p. viii.

52. **quod non desit habentem**: i.e. *tantum habentem ut nihil desit = quod satis sit habentem.*

53. **quae . . . cicutae**: *what doses of hemlock.* Hemlock was used, according to Pliny, H. N. 25. 13. 95, as a febrifuge. For a man to write verses when not compelled argues a poetic fever amounting to madness.

55. Other more serious reasons are now introduced. The first two lines are gracefully imitated by Pope:

> "Years following years steal something every day,
> At last they steal from us ourselves away;
> In one our frolics, one amusements end,
> In one a mistress drops, in one a friend."

— **praedantur**: cf. A. P. 176.



57. **extorquere**: indicating resistance.

58. Another reason for his silence is found in the conflicting demands of his friends.

59. **carmine . . . iambis**: these are the two terms regularly used by Horace to designate his Odes and Epodes.

60. **Bioneis sermonibus**: biting satires like Bion's. Bion was a caustic, philosophic wit of Borysthenes, a town near the mouth of the Dneiper, from which he was called the Borysthenite. Of the nature of his writing Acro says, *mordacissimis salibus ea, quae apud poetas sunt, ita laceravit ut ne Homero quidem parceret.* He further adds that Lucilius was very like him, so Horace knew him through Lucilius. He was a teacher of philosophy at Athens in the first half of the third century B.C., and many of his sayings are preserved by Cicero and others. One of them, preserved by Q. Stob. (10. 38), is *τὴν φιλαργυρίαν μητρόπολιν πάσης κακίας εἶναι*, which may be the original of the Biblical proverb to the same effect. — **sale nigro**: black, therefore coarse and less pure.

61. They are like three guests, each of different tastes.

65. Above all, remember that I am in Rome, subject to a thousand annoyances and cares.

67. **sponsum**: see on S. 2. 6. 23. — **auditum scripta**: see on S. 1. 4. 73.

68. **cubat**: *lies sick*, as S. 1. 9. 18.

70. **humane commoda**: *kindly convenient.* The two words are closely related in meaning. What is *commodum* must be suited to human nature and so *humanum.* Both words are ironical and strengthen each other, as we sometimes find *misere miser*, *firme firmus*, and similarly *inepte stultus es*, Plaut. Most. 495.

71. **purae sunt plateae**: "But, you say, the boulevards are open."

72. A contractor rushes along in hot haste, with mules and porters; *mulis* and *gerulisque* are abl. of accompaniment. Kiessling interprets thus: "heated to a passion by his mules and drivers."

73. **machina**: a crane or derrick for lifting stones or heavy timbers.

74. **funera plaustris**: wagons filled with building materials, which were allowed to pass through the streets by day, came in conflict with funeral processions; see on S. 1. 6. 42.

76. **canoros**: in contrast with the discords of the street.

77. **scriptorum** = *poetarum*, as Ep. 2. 1. 36, A. P. 120. With the thought cf. *adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, reliquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia utque ipsi dicunt in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem, secedendum est*, Tac. Dial. 9. — **urbem** is not simply Rome, but like *nemus* has a general signification.

78. **cliens Bacchi**: cf. Ep. 1. 19. 4.

80. **contracta**: the straight and narrow path of poesy; cf. *non datur ad Musas currere lata via*, Prop. 4. 1. 14.

81. The connexion of thought, which is somewhat obscure, seems to be as follows: "If the most favorable surroundings, perfect quiet, and years of study sometimes fail to produce a poet or a writer, how can I be expected to do anything in the present environment?" There is a contrast between *ingenium* and *ego*, *Athenas* and *hic*, *vacuas* and *fluctibus in mediis*. — **Ingenium**: *a man of talent*, as Ep. 2. 1. 88. — **vacuas**: cf. Ep. 1. 7. 45, *vacuum Tibur*.

82. **insenuit**: cf. Ep. 1. 7. 85, *immoritur studiis*, where, however, *studiis* is dative; *libris* and *curis* are more properly considered as ablatives, like *amore senescit habendi* in the same line. By *curis* philosophical meditations are meant.

83. **exit**: *turns out*, when the process is over; cf. A. P. 22.

86. **lyrae motura sonum**: *lyric poetry;* cf. Od. 2. 12. 4, *aptari citharae modis*. — **digner**: *deem it proper*.

87. Another reason for my silence is that writers are united in a mutual admiration society, which one is forced to join or be an outcast. "There were at Rome two brothers, of so fraternal a mind that each heard nothing but praise from the lips of the other." To lay so much emphasis on *frater*, and follow it with a consecutive clause, makes the construction harsh and doubtful. Kiessling quotes Ep. 1. 16. 12, but see App.

89. **Gracchus**: probably C. Gracchus is meant, for he was the greater orator of the two. Gellius (10. 3) says he was considered by many as *severior, acrior, ampliorque M. Tullio*. — **huic ut**: see App. — **Mucius**: the Mucii Scaevolae were noted for their legal learning during several generations. The three most famous ones were Publius, Cos. 133 B.C.; his cousin Quintus, the Augur, Cos. 117, one of the interlocutors in Cic. de Or. and Laelius; and his son Quintus, Pontifex Maximus, who was Cos. 95 B.C.



90. **Qui minus**: literally, *how the less;* cf. S. 2. 3. 311; 2. 7. 96. Translate, *are our tuneful poets less vexed by this madness?*

91. **Carmina compono**: "for example, I and some elegiac poet, — how we belabor each other with praise as the gladiators with blows." That Horace has some definite poet in mind, whom he will not name out of disgust, is clear, and it can hardly be doubted that this poet is Propertius. Their enmity has been already alluded to (Introduction to S. 1. 9). The present passage has been ably commented on by Postgate (Introd. to Select Elegies of Propert.) as follows: "Propertius's favorite boast is that he is the Roman Callimachus. . . . The charge of belonging to a clique of mutual admirers might with a show of fairness be brought against one who, amongst other instances of exaggeration, compared his friend Ponticus to Homer. The expression *caelatum novem Musis opus* is not more extravagant than many in Propertius. . . . Again, *fastu* and *molimine* just hit the impression which the style and perhaps the bearing of Propertius would make on an unfavorable observer. Verse 94 is a clear allusion to Propertius's exultation at the reception of his poems into the Palatine library. . . . We need not go far to seek a cause or a justification for this dislike. It was the result of an antipathy for which neither party was to blame. It would have been surprising if they had been friends. Not to speak of the difference of age, the impetuosity of Propertius would not be to the taste of the placid and somewhat lethargic Horace. Still more repellant would be his frequent self-assertion, while the pomp and obscurity of his style would offend against the Horatian canons of taste."

92. **caelatum . . . Musis**: cf. the figure, A. P. 441.

93. **fastu** = *fastidio, with what an air of proud importance.* — **circumspectemus** seems to indicate by its slow movement the deliberate, arrogant gaze. For the division, cf. S. 1. 2. 62; S. 2. 3. 117; A. P. 424.

94. **vacuam . . . aedem**: this refers to the library connected with the Palatine temple of Apollo (see on Ep. 2. 1. 216), open now for the reception of the works of Roman poets. It would seem that there was a hall for recitations connected with the temple or

library (Plin. Ep. 1. 13; Juv. 7. 37), and thither the pair proceed.

95. **procul**: see on Ep. 1. 7. 3.

98. **Samnites**: this name was given to gladiators armed in Campanian style. — **ad lumina prima**: "till evening comes on, and the lamps are lighted."

99. **Alcaeus**: the highest ambition of Horace; cf. Ep. 1. 19. 29; Od. 2. 13. 26. For these proper names, see Class. Dict. — **puncto illius**: the voting in the Comitia Centuriata is thus described by Gow, Companion to School Classics, p. 202: "The Campus Martius was divided by barriers into *saepta*, or inclosures, one for each century. From these the citizens passed in single file through a narrow passage (*pons*), and gave their votes *viva voce* to the returning officers (*rogatores*), who marked them by dots (*puncta*) on a tablet." By the Gabinian law, 139 B.C., the ballot was introduced, and each citizen was furnished with a voting tablet, which he deposited in a receptacle (*cista*) as he passed out. The term *punctum* continued to be used, however, in a general way for vote; cf. A. P. 343; Cic. pro Planc. 22. 53.

100. Callimachus (flor. about 250 B.C.) was the greatest elegiac poet of the Alexandrian school, yet it would be a greater compliment to call him Mimnermus, who was the founder of the erotic elegy.

101. **optivo** = *adoptivo*, Porph. — **cognomine**: in a loose sense, like *alter Homerus*, Ep. 2. 1. 50; *Romanus Callimachus*, Prop. 5. 1. 64.

104. **finitis studiis et mente recepta** gives the reason why Horace dares disregard them now.

106. The careless conceit and self-satisfaction of the bad poet is vividly contrasted with the constant self-criticism of the genuine artist.

107. **scribentes** = *dum scribunt*.

108. **beati**: join with *laudant;* "praise in an outburst of happiness."

109. **legitimum**: according to the laws of art; cf. *legitimus sonus*, A. P. 274. — **fecisse**: see on S. 2. 8. 79.

110. **censoris . . . honesti**: in contrast not with a *censor inhonestus*, but with the partial and dishonest judgments of a flattering clique.



111. **audebit**: *will bring himself to the point;* cf. Ep. 1. 2. 40. — **habebunt . . . erunt . . . ferentur**: futures with reference to the day of publication; *ferentur* = *existimabuntur;* cf. Verg. Aen. 6. 823, *utcumque ferent ea facta minores.*

113. **movere loco**: after analogy of *movere senatu*, one of the duties of the censor.

114. **et versentur**, etc.: *and up to this time are kept within the most sacred shrines of Vesta*, i.e. are regarded with almost religious reverence. The line is probably a quotation from some old poet, and hence the allusion is obscure.

115. **populo** may be joined either with *obscurata* or *eruet.* The positive task of the good poet is to revive almost forgotten words or expressions. He is indicated under the figure of a treasure digger, a river (v. 120), a gardener (v. 122), a dancer (v. 125).

116. **speciosa**: opposed to *parum splendoris*, v. 111.

117. **Catonibus et Cethegis**: both are mentioned again in similar connexion, A. P. 50 and 56; cf., too, Ep. 1. 1. 64. Cato the Elder was Cos. 195 B.C., and M. Cornelius Cethegus in 204 B.C. Cicero reckons the beginning of Roman orators with the appearance of the latter, Brut. 15.

118. **situs informis**: *uncouth neglect.* — **premit**: *obscures.*

119. **usus**: cf. A. P. 60 ff. and 71.

120. **Vemens et liquidus**: *strong and clear;* cf., for the opposite, *cum flueret lutulentus*, S. 1. 4. 11, spoken of Lucilius.

121. **beabit**: cf. A. P. 57, *cum lingua Catonis et Enni sermonem patrium ditaverit;* with this use of *beare* Horace illustrates his advice given above.

122. **luxuriantia compescet**: *will prune too luxurious growth;* cf. Verg. Georg. 2. 370, *ramos fluentis compescit;* also A. P. 447. — **aspera**: *inculta et horrida*, Schmid. — **sano** = *sound.*

123. **virtute carentia** = *ignava;* cf. Ep. 2. 1. 67; *versus inertes*, A. P. 445. — **tollet** is not to be taken in the sense of *demet*, which would only repeat v. 111, but as *extollet, elevate;* cf. Quint. 10. 4. 1; 4. 2. 61; 8. 6. 11.

124. **ludentis**, etc.: "he will have the appearance of one sporting, and yet he will exert himself as the most enthusiastic dancer." The idea is that grace and ease of style comes through slow and diligent training, just as the apparently simple movements of the

dance. As *ludere* may mean *to dance*, and *torqueri*, *to turn oneself*, the comparison of the next verse is readily suggested.

125. **Satyrum . . . movetur**: *moveri* is middle, and takes the construction of *saltat;* see on S. 1. 5. 63; cf. also A. P. 232; Od. 3. 6. 21. The allusion is to the pantomime, where the dancer represented in succession the various characters that were introduced. Kiessling thinks the reference here is to a piece exhibiting the rivalry of Polyphemus and Acis for the love of Galatea.

126. Horace's picture of the difficulties in the way of the true poet makes him despairingly long for the blindness of stupidity and the comfort of self-deception. — **delirus**: see on S. 1. 5. 71. So strong a term is chosen because of the following incident. — **iners**: *artless, wanting in artistic sense.*

127. **vel denique**: *or at least.*

128. **sapere** denotes aesthetic judgment, founded on taste. — **ringi**: *to growl;* here in disgust at his own shortcomings. — **haud ignobilis**: the same story is told in Pseud. Arist. de Mir. Ausc. 30 of a man of Abydos, and a somewhat similar one is told by Aelian, V. H. 4. 25, of an Athenian Thrasyllus, who thought that all the ships sailing into the Peiraeus were his. — **Argis**: the Greek Ἄργος was made by the Romans a plural noun of the second declension. *Argi;* cf. Varro, L. L. 9. 59, *Graecanice hoc Argos, Latine Argi.*

129. **qui . . . credebat, . . . qui . . . servaret**: indicative of the fact, subjunctive of the characteristic.

131. **servaret** = *observaret*, Ep. 1. 16. 41. — **vitae . . . munia**: viz. obligations towards neighbors, guest-friends, family, and servants.

133. **ignoscere servis**: harshness in punishing slight offences is mentioned as a sign of madness, S. 1. 3. 80.

134. **signo**: both the *amphorae* and the *lagoenae* were sealed; cf. Mart. 9. 88, *nunc signat meus anulus lagoenam.*

135. **vitare patentem**: not to be able to do this was the special mark of absent-mindedness; cf. S. 2. 3. 59; A. P. 459.

136. **opibus** = *ope, aid.*

137. **morbum bilemque**: as the special cause of the disease Horace adds *bilem*, which, in the form of black bile (*μέλαινα χολή*), was considered a frequent cause of madness or mental illusions; cf. *atra bili percita est*, Plaut. Amph. 727. Wilkins quotes from Sir A. Grant on Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 7. 8. 7: "With the moderns the term melancholy is restricted to the cold and dejected mood; while the ancients much more commonly applied the term *μελαγχολικός* to denote warmth, passion, and eccentricity of genius." In something like this sense the word is used in our passage. Webster quotes from Prior:

> "Just as the melancholic eye
> Sees fleets and armies in the sky."



The remedy for this was hellebore, which grew, above all places, at Anticyra; see on A. P. 300.

141. 'I have come to myself, and see the vanity of earlier years. Instead of harmony of numbers, I am now studying how to attain harmony of life.' — **sapere**: the wisdom of ethics and philosophy, not as v. 128. — **nugis**: *verse-making;* cf. *versus et cetera ludicra pono* Ep. 1. 1. 10.

142. **pueris**: belongs both with *concedere* and *tempestivum;* cf. *decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile*, Ep. 1. 19. 17.

143. **verba sequi**: cf. *carmen sequar*, A. P. 240.

144. **numerosque modosque**: cf. Ep. 1. 18. 59. Pope renders:

> "Teach every thought within its bounds to roll,
> And keep the equal measure of the soul."

This thought Horace proceeds earnestly to develop in the form of a conversation with himself on the subject of avarice, which was the crying evil of those days and the chief cause of the discord of the soul. It is constantly referred to in Horace's writings; cf. S. 1. 1; 2. 3, etc. Horace's reflections are like the line of thought developed by Plutarch, *περὶ φιλοπλουτίας*, 3, and there attributed to Aristippus.

147. **quod**: not *si*, for this is the real state of the case. The comparison of avarice to thirst is frequent in ancient as in modern literature.

148. **faterier**: see on S. 2. 8. 67.

149. One should apply remedies tried and trusty, not those that experience has already condemned. — **radice**: abl. of instrument.

150. **fugeres**: an intensified *nolles;* cf. Od. 1. 9. 3; 2. 4. 22.

151. **curarier**: *to let yourself be treated.* — **audieras**: from the masses who consider wealth and happiness as synonymous; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 53.

152. **rem**: as Ep. 1. 1. 65. — **decedere . . . stultitiam**: the beginning of wisdom, Ep. 1. 1. 41.

154. **plenior**: *repletus, satiatus*, in fine, *ditior.*

155. "Were these monitors right, then you ought to blush unless you were really the most eager seeker after wealth."

158. **Si proprium est** etc.: *if what one buys in due and legal form is his own, on the other hand that is no less his own, if you believe the lawyers, which is acquired by usage or possession.* This temporary enjoyment of what one needs is all-sufficient, and indeed is all that any one can have. There is no such thing as perpetual possession. — **libra . . . et aere**: the mode of sale *per aes et libram* applied to landed property in Italy, slaves, and domestic animals, and is described by Gaius, 1. 119. The bargain is concluded by the two parties in the presence of five witnesses. A third party holds the scales (*libra*), which the purchaser touches with a piece of money, a custom handed down from the older days when all the money was put into the scales and weighed. At the same time he repeats a set formula of words, hands the money to the vendor, and takes the property.

159. **consultis**: cf. v. 87. — **usus**: in contrast with purchase is the acquisition of property by *usus*, which meant possession for one year in the case of movables, and two years for immovables.

160. **Orbi**: an unknown personage, some landed proprietor whose fields helped to furnish the markets.

162. **uvam**: collectively.

163. **temeti**: an old word, not very commonly used; derivatives from the same base are *temulentus* and *abstemius.* — **modo isto**: *communis poetarum tantum non omnium regula est, ne post vocabulum iambicum in vocalem desinens syllaba acuta ponatur nisi cum hiatu, velut 'novo auctus Hymeneo.'* Lachmann, ad Lucret., p. 196. This may have been pronounced by Horace *modosto*, according to the conversational usage of the streets of Rome.

164. **trecentis**: 300,000 sesterces, about $13,000.

166. **numerato**: sc. *nummo; from money paid recently or some time before.*



167. **Emptor . . . quondam** = *qui quondam emit*, just as *scriptor* (A. P. 120) = *cum scribis.* The owner of some large estate at Aricia or Veii buys all his produce, though he imagines that it belongs to him. For Aricia, see on S. 1. 5. 1. Veii was situated about twelve miles from Rome, and had been the most flourishing city of Etruria. It was destroyed by Camillus (396 B.C.), and was never a place of any importance afterwards. Its territory was divided among the soldiers of Julius Caesar, 45 B.C. The ruins of the ancient city were discovered in the early part of this century near the village of Isola Farnese.

169. **calefactat aenum**: *heats his copper kettle*, probably to have warm water to mix with his wine.

170. **usque . . . qua** etc.: *up to where the poplar, planted for this very purpose, avoids disputes with the neighbors by means of fixed boundary lines.* Trees were often used as corners, then as now. Varro recommends the elm for this purpose.

171. **limitibus**: ablative of instrument. The *limites* were strips of uncultivated land, which marked the boundaries of fields and were used as footpaths. Cf. Niebuhr, Hist. Rom. II. App. 1 and 2. — **refugit iurgia**: cf. *ne familiae rixent cum vicinis ac limites ex litibus iudicem quaerant*, Varro, R. R. 1. 15.

173. **prece . . . pretio . . . vi**: *presentation, purchase, confiscation.* — **morte suprema**: *the final messenger, death;* cf. Ep. 1. 16. 79.

174. **altera iura** = *iura alterius*, as just before *vicina iurgia* = *iurgia vicinorum.*

176. **heredem alterius**: an heir succeeds the present owner, himself another's heir, as wave follows wave on the shifting sands. Cf. *sed ut unda impellitur unda urgeturque prior veniente urgetque priorem, tempora sic fugiunt pariter*, Ovid. Met. 15. 181.

177. **vici**: *manors.*

178. **saltibus adiecti Lucani**: *Lucanian pastures added to the Calabrian.* The pastures in Apulia or Calabria were exchanged in summer for the cooler heights of Samnium or Lucania; see on Epod. 1. 27, and cf. Varro, R. R. 2. 1. 16, *itaque greges ovium longe abiguntur ex Apulia in Samnium aestivatum.* — **si metit Orcus**: Death is a reaper, as in Longfellow's poem. The instrument is often a sword, instead of a sickle, which marks the com-

mingling of the reaper and the warrior; cf. *mors fila sororum ense metit*, Stat. Theb. 1. 633. But the ancient artists never used our representation of death as a skeleton with a sickle.

179. **non exorabilis auro**: cf. Od. 2. 18. 34; 2. 14. 6.

180. **Tyrrhena sigilla** seem to have been small bronze statues of deities, made by Etruscan workmen, which at this time were collected mainly as objects of artistic interest. — **tabellas**: i.e. *tabulas pictas*.

181. **argentum**: *silver plate;* see on S. 1. 4. 28. — **vestes**: not so much clothing as spreads and coverlets of various kinds. — **Gaetulo murice**: for *murex*, see on Ep. 1. 10. 26. The Gaetulian shores were southwest of Mauretania and the straits of Gibraltar, and yielded a purple that was famed in antiquity; cf. *cum ebori citroque silvae exquirantur, omnes scopuli Gaetuli muricibus purpuris*, Plin. H. N. 5. 1. 12; also cf. 6. 31. 101.

182. **habeant . . . curat**: the change of mood clearly points to Horace himself as the one alluded to in *est qui*.

183. Difference of taste among men springs from innate difference of character. — **cessare et ludere et ungui**: "ease and pleasure and perfumes," Currie.

184. **Herodis**: this was Herod the Great, who died 4 B.C. The groves of palms are mentioned by Plin., H. N. 5. 14. 70, and Strabo, 16. 2. 41.

185. **importunus**: *untiring*.

186. **flammis et ferro mitiget**: "with grub-axe and bush-burnings he clears up and makes arable his new ground." With this use of *mitigo* cf. Ep. 1. 2. 45. *Ferro* is applicable to the axe with which the larger trees were cut down, the grub-axe suits the stumps and bushes, and the plow completes the conquest.

187. **Genius**: see on Ep. 1. 7. 94. — **natale . . . astrum**: the Genius, like a guardian angel, is always seeking to warn one of danger and ward off approaching evil; so it tempers, as far as possible, the malign influences of the natal star.

188. **naturae deus humanae**: a deity standing in a most personal and peculiar relation to the individual. — **mortalis in unum quodque caput**: "viewed in itself, and as part of the divinity which rules the universe, the Genius is immortal, as Apuleius says (de Deo Socr. 15), *is deus, qui est animus suus cuique, quam-*



*quam sit immortalis, tamen quodammodo cum homine gignitur.* But as regards the individual (*in unum quodque caput*), it is mortal, and on the death of the man to whom it is attached it returns into the universal soul of the world." Wilkins.

189. **albus et ater**: *bright or dark, gay or gloomy.*

190. 'The goods of life, in my opinion, are to be enjoyed, but with moderation.' — **Utar**: absolute, as Ep. 1. 7. 57; *I will enjoy what I have.* — **ex modico**:

> "Though my heap be scant,
> Will take on each occasion what I want." Con.

191. **heres**: in a general sense; Horace had no legal heirs, and left his property to Augustus.

192. **datis**: i.e. *by me;* more than what I actually left him. And yet, while I do not devote myself to actual miserly gain, I would not be a spendthrift, but would learn the proper distinction between excess in either of these directions and a life of moderate simplicity and genuine enjoyment.

193. **scire volam**: *it shall be my purpose to learn.* — **simplex**: *guileless, frank.* — **hilaris**: *good-natured, joyous.*

195. **Distat enim**: "for it matters much whether with lavish hand you scatter your goods, or whether, while you avoid a miserly avarice on the one hand and a consuming desire to acquire more on the other, you enjoy eagerly the blessings of to-day as a schoolboy does his Easter vacation."

197. **festis Quinquatribus**: the term *quinquatrus*, formed like *triatrus, sexatrus*, etc., means the fifth day after the Ides. It was specially applied to the festival in honor of Minerva, celebrated in March and extending over five days (19–23), from which fact Ovid (Fast. 3. 810) wrongly derives the name. It was a general holiday for artists and artisans and for the schools. "This school feast was in the Middle Ages christened in honor of Pope Gregory I., the great founder of schools, St. Gregory's day, and is still, or was lately, here and there observed, being the only saint's day kept in the German evangelical church, Luther having a pleasant recollection of the days when he went about begging from door to door, and Melanchthon having written a 'Gregory song.'" Mayor on Juv. 10. 115. — **olim**: *in his day*, i.e. *while at school.*

199. **Pauperies immunda domus**: *if only degrading domestic poverty be absent.* — **absit**: a paratactical protasis; see on Ep. 1. 1. 28. *Domus* does not accord very well with the figure that follows, and its place has been supplied by many conjectures, as *procul procul absit, modo et procul absit*, etc. The comparison of life with a voyage is very common in Horace; cf. Od. 2. 10. 1; 3. 29. 62. — **utrum . . . an**: in writing this Horace must have had in mind to finish his sentence with some expression like *nihil distat;* but he afterwards substitutes *ferar unus et idem*, which does not at all suit an indirect question.

201. The idea of the golden mean that Horace so much loved is still further carried out. "My bark is not borne along with sails swelling in the fast following breeze, nor yet do I have to push forward by tacking against adverse currents." The north wind generally brought fair weather, while the south wind is rainy and stormy, *turbidus*, Od. 3. 3. 4; Verg. Georg. 1. 462.

203. **viribus, ingenio**, etc.: the characteristics are joined in pairs that supplement each other; "strength of body and mind, beauty of form and character, rank and fortune."

204. **extremi**, etc.: "Behind the first, yet not among the lags," Con. — **usque**: *ever*, as Od. 1. 17. 4; S. 1. 4. 20; 2. 1. 76; A. P. 154, 354.

205. Horace continues his self-examination. "Though free from avarice, what about the other vices or weaknesses?" — **abi**: *very well;* this is a colloquial phrase frequent in comedy, as Ter. Ad. 564; Plaut. Asin. 704. — **cetera**: sc. *vitia*.

206. **fugere**: perfect indicative.

208. **Somnia**, etc.: "are you free from the various forms of superstition?" — **terrores magicos**: spectres called up by magic. — **miracula**: for examples, see S. 1. 5. 98 ff. — **sagas**: *witches*, such as Canidia, S. 1. 8; Epod. 5.

209. **nocturnos lemures**: *ghosts; umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum et ideo metuendas*, Porph. — **portentaque Thessala**: in Epod. 5. 45 Thessalian conjurers are accredited with the power of making the moon or the stars invisible. Pope paraphrases thus:

> "Survey both worlds, intrepid and entire,
> In spite of witches, devils, dreams, and fire."



210. **Natalis**: *quod non faciunt nimium timidi senectutis et mortis quam ex natalibus multis iam iamque proximam perhorrescunt*, Porph. So Martial praises Antonius Primus, 10. 23.

212. **spinis**: the evil tendencies of our natures are thorns in the flesh.

213. If you cannot live as is suited to your age, give place to those who can. You have had your turn at the bowl of life's pleasures; withdraw before you become the sport of the newly entering guests. — **decede peritis**: *da locum praestantioribus et doctioribus*, Schol. Cruq.

214. **Lusisti satis**, etc.: Festus quotes from Livius Andronicus, *affatim edi, bibi, lusi.* The Assyrian epitaph of Sardanapalus contained the advice, ἔσθιε, πῖνε, παῖζε.

215. **abire**: the picture is that of a banquet; S. 1. 1. 119.

216. **lasciva decentius**: *more becomingly wanton;* that is, *aetas quam magis decet lascivire.*

# ARS POETICA.

The title *ars poetica*, or *de arte poetica*, is found in almost all the Mss., but was certainly not given to the poem by Horace. It is, however, very ancient, since it is used as early as Quintilian (8. 3. 60 and Ep. ad Tryph. 2), and the same title appears regularly in Charisius, Priscian, Porphyrio, and others. Acro adds this work to the four books of the Odes, as Book V., and such is the place it occupies in the best Mss. The present position was first given it by H. Stephanus (1577); Cruquius (1578) set the fashion of designating it as Ep. 2. 3 (see, however, Teuffel, Röm. Lit. § 352).

There are but few indications as to the date of composition, and the differences of opinion on this point have been great. The most general verdict has been that it belongs to the closing years of Horace's life, after all his other works had been written, and many have found in the unharmonious structure of the poem indications that it was never finished by Horace, but was published after his death. On the other hand, Reenen (Disputatio de epist. ad Pisones, Amstelodami, 1806) suggested a date between the death of Quintilius Varus, 24 B.C. (v. 438), and that of Vergil, 19 B.C., assuming that v. 55 points to Vergil and Varius as then living. This latter point may not be positively inferred from the passage referred to, but there has been in recent years a decided drifting of opinion toward the earlier date. Michaelis (Commentat. philol. in hon. Th. Mommseni, 1877, p. 420 ff.) agrees with Reenen; Vahlen (Zeitschrift für oesterisch. Gymn. 18, 1) puts it after the death of Vergil, but before the Carmen Saec.; after the epistle to Florus, but before the one to Augustus, — in other words, about 18 B.C. This date is agreed to by Schütz. Nettleship (Journal of Phil. 12. pp. 43–61) argues for a date not later than the





publication of the first book of the Epistles, i.e. about 20 B.C. Kiessling puts the date in 17 B.C. or the following year, after the Carmen Saec. but before Horace had seriously entered upon the lyric compositions that make up Book IV. of the Odes. This is the poem, then, that with the epistle to Florus formed the *sermones quosdam* which caused Augustus on reading them to ask the poet to remember him in a similar manner (see Introd. to Ep. 2. 1).

The dedication to the Pisos appears from the poem itself and is attested by Porphyrio, who begins his commentary with these words: *hunc librum, qui inscribitur de arte poetica, ad Lucium Pisonem, qui postea urbis custos fuit, eiusque liberos misit; nam et ipse Piso poeta fuit et studiorum liberalium antistes.* The person spoken of is L. Calpurnius Piso, born 49 B.C., Cos. 15 B.C., absent then for several years in Thrace, where he gained victories sufficient to secure for him the *insignia* of a triumph (Tac. Ann. 6. 10). Under Tiberius he was *praefectus urbi*, and held that office for twenty years, dying 31 A.D. That he should have had two sons old enough to be addressed as *iuvenes* before Horace's death is possible, but not if we accept the earlier date for the composition of the work. Hence we must look around for another Piso to whom Porphyrio's statement may be referred. Such an one we find in the person of Cn. Calpurnius Piso, companion of Horace in the army of Brutus, Cos. 23 B.C. His elder son, Cnaeus, was Cos. 7 B.C., and was, it seems, born not later than 43 B.C.; his younger son, Lucius, was Cos. 1 B.C., and so must have been born at least as early as 34 B.C.

When we come to consider the scope and character, the aim and purpose of the poem, and analyze its contents, we find the task one of considerable difficulty. Goethe says that this is a work about which one critic's views must differ from another's, and about which even the same critic will have a different opinion every two years. And so we actually find it. The divergencies of criticism, as set forth not only in the various editions, but in an overwhelming number of special treatises, are very marked. In forming our own opinion we must bear in mind, in the first place, that we have here no complete "art of poetry." There is no trace of that systematic and philosophic development of the subject that appears in Aristotle's Περὶ ποιητικῆς. Many questions that would

be proper in such a treatise are omitted entirely, and some topics are discussed with an unwonted fulness. As in his philosophy Horace is practical rather than theoretical, so in his aesthetic criticism. There is apparent here a pedagogical impulse. The poet is, in Horace's estimation, not so much a product of divine inspiration as of careful culture. The Romans needed above all things to learn the value of training, self-discipline, candid criticism. The generation to which Horace belonged, the generation of Quintilius, Vergil, Tibullus, and Varius was passing away, and a new one was coming to the front. For the benefit of future poets, as well as of the Pisos, Horace is writing. The form in which he clothes his instruction is not that of a purely didactic treatise, but is in keeping with his previous manner of writing. And so he addresses his friends constantly by name, and develops the thought with the freedom and laxity of conversation. Thus it is that suggestion rather than logic is the bond of connexion, that the same thought is recurred to more than once in order that some new detail may be added, and that space is sometimes given to things of but little importance, which might even have been taken for granted. It is by neglecting this fact that critics have worried themselves so unduly, trying to lick into shape the uncouth offspring of the Horatian muse. And so they omit portions, change the order of verses, or break up the poem into a number of shorter epistles. This school of criticism is represented by Petrini, Peerlkamp, Lehrs, Moritz Schmidt, Ribbeck, Faltin, and others, and finds its own condemnation in the irreconcilable differences between the respective views of the various critics. Another question closely connected with the one under discussion is that as to the sources used by Horace in his work. That he did not draw largely from the great Greek masters, Plato (Phaedrus) and Aristotle (Περὶ ποιητικῆς), has been shown by Michaelis (*de auctoribus quos Horatius in libro de Arte Poetica secutus esse videatur*, Kiliae, 1857), though it is quite easy to parallel a number of Horace's expressions by similar quotations from these authors. Porphyrio throws some light on this point by the following statement: *congessit praecepta Neoptolemi* τοῦ Παριανοῦ, *non quidem omnia, sed eminentissima.* This statement is rejected altogether by Ritter and minimized by Michaelis, but is defended by Nettleship in the article already



referred to. Nettleship thinks he detects traces of the original *praecepta* in v. 1–5, 9–10, 14, 333–4, and elsewhere. These traces may be admitted, yet we can hardly go as far as Nettleship does when he characterizes the work as "bilingual." Of Neoptolemus we know but little. He seems to have been a philosopher, grammarian, and poet, to have lived about 200 B.C., or a little earlier, and to have popularized the teachings of Aristotle and Theophrastus in poetic form.

The analysis of the argument is given in the notes. Here it will suffice to remark that the poem admits of a threefold division, the first section ending at v. 72, or, according to another view, at v. 152, and the second section ending at v. 288 or 294. The first section treats of the general principles of unity and order, the second applies these principles to the various departments of poetry, while the third discusses the culture requisite for a successful poet. The first two are objective, the last one is subjective. The large amount of space given to the drama (170 lines) has been the subject of much inquiry, and must have had a special reason. It has been plausibly suggested that one of the Pisos had it in mind to attempt this species of composition, and Horace means to warn and counsel him (see note on v. 120). Nettleship suggests another reason in the renewed interest felt in the drama at this time. This has been well summed up by Wilkins in the following words: "In the generation of Cicero dramatic literature had fallen out of favor; and though Quintus Cicero was proud of having written four tragedies in sixteen days, the rapidity of the production shows how little it was regarded as a serious pursuit. But of Horace's contemporaries some of those of highest mark had devoted themselves to tragedy. Asinius Pollio, Varius, and Ovid all won high distinction in this branch of literature, and although Augustus had the good sense to cancel his own tragedy of Ajax, yet the fact that he had written it shows the direction which the current was taking. It is probable that Horace, in devoting so much attention to the criticism of the drama, did so in recognition of the prevalent literary tastes, and with the wish to influence them in the direction of profounder study of the true classical models."

1–37. 'Unity and harmony are the first laws of art, and are binding on the poet as well as the painter.' Nettleship thinks that verses 1–5, 9–10, 14–15, 24–31 are paraphrases from the Greek original, while the intervening verses contain Horace's comments. The general thought of v. 1 can be paralleled from Plato, Phaed. 264, and Aristotle, Poet. 23. The chiastic arrangement makes the contrast more vivid.

2. **varias**: i.e. as to color. — **plumas**: generally used of fine feathers, as opposed to *pennas*.

3. **membris**: dative, after *inducere;* Kiessling and others take it as abl. abs., and supply *corpori* with *inducere*. — **ut**: a consecutive clause, *sic* being felt, though omitted, in the preceding sentence; cf. S. 1. 1. 96; Ep. 1. 16. 12. — **turpiter atrum**: *foully hideous*, contrasting with *formosa superne;* cf. *turpiter hirtum*, Ep. 1. 3. 22.

5. **spectatum**: supine. — **teneatis**: *could you restrain.* — **amici**: *even though friends of the artist.*

6. **isti tabulae**: as present before their eyes. — **librum**: more general than *carmen*.

7. **cuius**, etc.: "whose pictures are falsely blended like the fancies of fevered dreams." Homer's art in this respect is specially commended, v. 152.

9. This is an objection of some critic, unless it be, as Nettleship suggests, a paraphrase from the Greek.

10. **quidlibet audendi**: cf. παλαιὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀνευθύνους εἶναι καὶ ποιητὰς καὶ γραφέας, Lucian, pro Imag. 18. — **aequa**: according to the scholiasts, the same as *par*, *aequalis;* but Orelli, comparing the expressions *aequa iura*, *aequa lex*, interprets it by *iure permisso* = *permissible license.*

11. **petimusque damusque**: *petimus quasi poetae, damus quasi critici*, Acr.

12. **sed non**: *but not to such an extent that.* — **coeant**: cf. *ut coeat par iungaturque pari*, Ep. 1. 5. 25.

14. This harmony may be marred by going out of the way to insert a passage too brilliant for its surroundings. "Beginnings grand and promising are often decked out, for purposes of display, with gaudy patches, as when," etc.

16. **pannus** can hardly refer to the *praetexta* or laticlave, for these are quite in place. The following examples probably refer to some contemporaries of Horace. The grove and temple here alluded to may have been near Aricia; see on S. 1. 5. 1.



17. **properantis aquae**, etc.: *the stream that swiftly sweeps through verdant vales.*

19. **Sed nunc non**: these things were all right in their proper place, but here they were in bad taste. — **cupressum scis simulare**: in explanation of this line, Porphyrio tells the following story: *hoc proverbium est in malum pictorem qui nesciebat aliud bene pingere quam cupressum. Ab hoc naufragus quidam petiit ut periculum suum exprimeret. Ille interrogavit, num ex cupresso vellet aliquid adici. Quod proverbium Graecis in usu est.* Juvenal, 14. 301, tells how a man who had been shipwrecked went around begging and exhibiting a picture of the disaster, in order to excite the pity of the beholders. As the person here described has money to pay for his picture, it is more likely that he was having a votive offering prepared, to be dedicated in the temple of Neptune or some other deity. For allusions to this practice, see Od. 1. 5. 13; S. 2. 1. 33.

20. **quid hoc**: sc. *sibi volt; of what use is this?*

21. **Amphora**: the same fault is illustrated from the potter's trade. The *amphora* was a vessel in which wine was stored for use or sale. It had two handles, whence the name ἀμφορεύς for ἀμφιφορεύς, and as a measure of quantity was 26.196 liters.

22. **urceus**: this was a pitcher smaller than the amphora. The thought is somewhat similar to that of v. 139.

23. **quidvis** is predicate; the subject is *opus*, which is naturally supplied in thought from the whole connexion.

24 ff. 'Unity is often violated by too earnestly seeking after variety, and so being led into the opposite extreme.'

25. **decipimur**: with his usual delicacy Horace includes himself in his criticisms.

26. **levia**: note the quantity of the antepenult. — **nervi**: *nervus*, like νεῦρον, means primarily *sinews*, *tendons*, but also includes nerves proper. Galen (b. about 130 A.D.) was the first to limit it to this latter use. But it is the earlier meaning that gives force to its application to style.

27. **animi**: *vigor.*

28. **tutus nimium**: *who is excessively safe*, i.e. *overly cautious*. The metaphor is mixed; *serpit humi* suggests soaring (cf. Od. 4. 2. 25), while *timidus procellae* finds its proper contrast in the *premere litus* of Od. 2. 10. 3.

29. **rem . . . unam**: one and the same subject. — **prodigialiter**: *in a marvellous manner*, i.e. so as to produce a marvellous effect. This is a word first used by Horace; it appears later in Columella, 3. 33.

31. **si caret arte**: the subject of *caret* is personal, the same as *adpingit; ars* is aesthetic judgment, artistic taste.

32 ff. 'Technical skill in one detail does not insure the success of the whole.' — **Aemilium . . . ludum**: Porphyrio says this was a *ludus gladiatorius* situated where afterwards were the baths of Polycletus. Gladiators were kept in schools, and it would seem that the shops of their barracks which opened out on the streets were sometimes rented, as is the one here to a sculptor. — **imus** for this word there are two interpretations. The one is that of Porphyrio, who takes it in a local sense, referring it to the situation of the sculptor's shop in some corner of the building. But it is hard to see why such a specification should have been added here. Another and a better view is to give *imus* the force of *lowest in rank, the poorest* or *most unskilful*. For this interpretation, cf. Od. 3. 1. 15, *aequa lege necessitas sortitur insignes et imos*. Bentley proposed to read *unus*, which has very little Mss. authority, but which met with great favor, and has been adopted by many editors. With this reading *unus* is to be taken in the sense of *unicus*, and the predicate adjective has almost adverbial force. For this use of *unus*, cf. S. 1. 10. 42; 2. 3. 24; 2. 6. 57. The meaning then is that a sculptor may be pre-eminent in certain details and yet fail in the sum total.

33. **mollis**: *waving*.

34. **ponere**: *represent;* this seems to have been a technical word; cf. Od. 4. 8. 8.

36. **pravo**: here used in a literal sense; see on Ep. 2. 2. 44.

37. **nigris oculis**: dark eyes and hair were marks of beauty; cf. *Lycum nigris oculis nigroque crine decorum*, Od. 1. 32. 11. The gerundive has the force of an adj. in *-bilis*, *worthy to be admired*.



38–72. 'Subject-matter, order, language.' The first direction is that the subject be suited to one's strength (38–41). — **materiam**: in this word, as in *viribus* and *umeri*, there is the suggestion of a man bearing building material on his shoulders. — **vestris** has a general reference to all authors.

39. **recusent**: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 258.

40. **potenter**: a word first used, it seems, by Horace. The context suggests the meaning, *according to his ability, pro suis viribus*, κατὰ δύναμιν.

41. **facundia**: *elegant expression*.

42. 'Arrangement consists in propriety of speech.' — **virtus . . . et venus**: *the efficacy and charm*.

44. **pleraque**: as Ep. 2. 1. 66. — **differat . . . omittat**: ὕστερον πρότερον.

45. This verse occurs in all the Mss. after the following one. The transposition was made by Bentley, and he has been followed by almost all editors, for with the Mss. order the sense of the passage is almost hopelessly obscure, while the transposition of the lines makes the reference in *hoc . . . hoc* clear and simple. — **tenuis**: not used here with reference to simplicity of style (*tenue genus dicendi*), but as meaning *subtle, with keenness of perception*, a quality to be exercised in choosing words (*tenuis hoc amet*), while caution finds its play in rejecting them (*cautus spernat*); cf. *tenues aures animusque sagax*, Lucret. 4. 910.

47. **Dixeris**, etc.: "elegance of diction is attained by a clever setting of words or phrases (*callida iunctura*)." This refers to felicitous expressions that put words in a new light, a faculty which Horace possessed to a marked degrée; cf. *splendide mendax*, *prodigus animae*, *notus animi paterni*, etc.

48 ff. 'Another point is the invention of new words, made necessary by the discovery of new ideas.'

49. **indiciis**: σημεῖα, *signs*. — **abdita rerum**: cf. *vilia rerum*, Ep. 1. 17. 21. After *rerum*, *et* stands in almost all the Mss. It seems to be spurious; another instance of the same thing is found Ep. 2. 1. 73.

50. **cinctutis . . . Cethegis**: speaking of new words, Horace takes this opportunity of coining one. From *cingo* is derived the noun *cinctus*, and from this in turn comes the participial formation

*cinctutus*. The *cinctus* was a kind of apron or loin-cloth worn in early days under the toga. Its place was afterwards supplied by the tunic. For *Cethegis*, see on Ep. 2. 2. 117.

51. **continget**: *it will be allowed*. This meaning of *continget* is unusual, and the omission of the dat. obj. is striking. — **sumpta pudenter**: *on condition that it be used with moderation*.

53. As Greek literature was the great source from which new thoughts came into Roman life, so the Greek language was the storehouse of new words. Allusion is made not to direct importation of foreign words, as *amphora* = ἀμφορεύς, for such borrowing was sometimes made from other tongues than Greek, as from the Celtic, but to words, simple or compound, formed on the analogy of the Greek; as *inaudax* = ἄτολμος, *inruptus* = ἄρρηκτος, *ampullari* = ληκυθίζειν, *invideor* = φθονοῦμαι, *tauriformis* = ταυρόμορφος, *centimanus* = ἑκατόγχειρος, etc. But even these must be sparingly coined, *parce detorta*; cf. *propterea Marrucini vocantur, de Marso detorsum nomen*, Cato, Orig. 2. 18, Jord. — **Quid autem**, etc.: *for why will the Roman critic forbid to Vergil or Varius what he allows to Plautus or Caecilius?* For Plautus and Caecilius, see on Ep. 2. 1. 59; for Vergil and Varius, on S. 1. 5. 40. Horace's views were not universally accepted; there was a school of purists that fought against the introduction of new words, whose motto was expressed in the opening sentence of Caesar's *de Analogia*: *ut tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum*, Gell. 1. 10; cf. Quint. 8. 3. 35.

54. **dabit . . . ademptum**: logically, the thought is *adimet . . . datum*.

55. **adquirere pauca**: modestly contrasting with *ditaverit*.

56. **invideor**: φθονοῦμαι; cf. *imperor*, Ep. 1. 5. 21. For Cato, see on Ep. 2. 2. 117, and for Ennius, Ep. 2. 1. 50.

58. **Licuit semperque**: after his passionate outburst against the purists, Horace returns to his subject and takes up the thread of his argument.

59. **signatum**, etc.: to bring into circulation newly coined words bearing the current stamp. The comparison of words with coin was prepared in *habebunt fidem*, 52, *adquirere*, 55, and *ditaverit*, 57.

60. This death and birth of words is founded in the very nature of things. "As the forests change their foliage when the years roll round to their closing, and the early leaves of spring fall, so the old generation of words passes away, and new ones burst into life, like the successive generations of men." — **foliis**: may be explained as instrumental abl., or, with slightly different conception, as abl. of limitation or respect; cf. *mutatus voluntate*, Cic. ad Fam. 5. 21. — **pronos**: cf. Od. 3. 27. 18, *pronus Orion*. According to our interpretation, Horace breaks away from the figure of the forest in the second part of the comparison, and supplies its place by *iuvenum ritu*, guided probably by Homer's (Z 146) famous comparison of passing generations to falling leaves.



63. 'The mightiest works of man must pass away, — how much more his words.' — **Debemur morti**: so Simonides, fr. 122, ed. Bergk, θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα. Horace points to three important undertakings which were planned by Julius Caesar, and which, though not carried out, the poet freely represents as accomplished, yet ultimately destined to come to naught. These undertakings were, as we are told by Plutarch, Caes. 58, the building of an ample harbor at Ostia, the draining of the Pomptine marshes, and the straightening of the river Tiber. The work on the harbor of Ostia was carried out by Claudius.

64. **classes Aquilonibus**: a poetic inversion for *aquilones a classe arcet*. The omission of the preposition occurs, however, in prose, as Cic. Phil. 5. 13, *hostem arcuit Gallia*.

65. **regis opus** = *regium opus, a royal work*. — **palus diu**: so Gesner puts it, instead of the Mss. *diu palus*, which involves an unparalleled shortening of the final syllable of *palus*. *Diu aptaque* finds its analogy in *si me amas*, S. 1. 9. 38 (see note). According to the law laid down Ep. 2. 2. 163, *diu* could not be elided before an accented syllable.

66. **urbes**: Setia, Tarracina, etc.

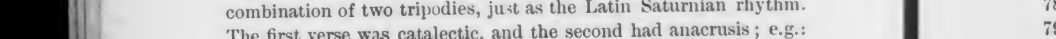
69. **honos et gratia**: *dignity and favor*. The nom. in *-s* is the only form used by Vergil. The form in *-r*, as *honor, arbor*, gets its *-r* from analogy to the oblique cases, where intervocalic *s* properly changes to *r*.

70. Horace was face to face with this fact in the return of Greek literature to Atticism, and the days of Hadrian saw Roman writers reviving the language of Cato and Plautus.

71. **usus**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 119.

73–198. Passing from these general considerations to more special points, Horace discusses very briefly the different kinds of metre, — epic, elegiac, iambic, lyric. 'A proper tone must be maintained, and the style of speech suited to the characters.'

74. **Homerus**: the hexameter had passed through several stages of development before it reached Homer. It originated in the combination of two tripodies, just as the Latin Saturnian rhythm. The first verse was catalectic, and the second had anacrusis; e.g.:



It found its first use, doubtless, in the hands of priests and in the service of religion, and thence passed to the bards, who sang their simple hero stories, preparing the way for the larger perfection of the Iliad and Odyssey.

75. **impariter**: *a ἄπαξ εἰρημένον.* The elegiac couplet is a hexameter followed by a so-called pentameter, which is really a compound of two tripodies, both catalectic. The effect of the couplet well appears in Coleridge's lines:

> "In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column,
> In the pentameter aye falling in melody back."

The term ἔλεγος applies properly to the second verse, while the union of the two was termed ἐλεγεῖον (sc. ἔπος) or ἐλεγεία (sc. ᾠδή), which latter form gives the Latin *elegia*. The meaning of the word is *plaintive song;* its etymology was given by the grammarians as ἒ λέγε, ἒ λέγε ἒ, though it would rather seem to have been a foreign word. Horace is quite right in the statement that it was first employed in *querimoniae*. Accompanied by the flute, the instrument of sorrow, it was used in dirges, and hence became the common form of epitaphs or dedicatory inscriptions. It was turned by Mimnermus of Colophon (flor. about 600 B.C.) to the expression of love, as he celebrated his passion for the flute-girl Nanno. The originator of this species of verse is not known, but it was cultivated by some of the earliest writers of Greece, as Callinus, Tyrtaeus, and Solon.

76. **voti sententia compos**: this has been generally taken to refer to love elegies, meaning *a feeling that has gained its prayer;* but the interpretation preferred by Kiessling seems more likely, which refers it to any dedicatory inscription expressive of thanks for the attainment of a prayer. In other words, this marks the employment of the elegiac verse in epigrams; cf. *hoc metro mortuis fletus componebant antiqui vel epigrammata consecrationum, sicut Horatius docet de arte poetica,* '*versibus,*' etc. (quoting these two lines), Sacerdos, p. 510, K. 6.



77. **exiguos**: *light.*

78. **grammatici**: see on Ep. 1. 19. 40.

79. **Archilochum**: see on Ep. 1. 19. 23 and 25. — **proprio**: *his own,* as he was the undisputed originator of this kind of verse. In the canon of the Alexandrians only three writers of iambic verse were included, viz., Archilochus, Simonides, Hipponax; see Christ, Grk. Lit. p. 101.

80. **socci**: see on Ep. 2. 1. 174. Cratinus developed artistic comedy by uniting the choral Comus with the satire of Archilochus; see Moulton, Ancient Class. Drama, p. 250. Tragedy was a mingling of the Dionysiac chorus with the epic recitative; the substance of the dialogue showed this epic origin, but its form was molded after the iambics of Archilochus, for, as Horace suggests, this verse was best suited for the recitation of dialogues, for commanding attention, and for depicting actions.

81. **alternis . . . sermonibus**: cf. μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστιν· σημεῖον δὲ τούτου· πλεῖστα γὰρ ἰαμβεῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Aristot. Poet. 4.

82. **vincentem strepitus**: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 200. Quint. 9. 4. 136, comments on the penetrating power of iambics. — **natum rebus agendis**: cf. Aristot. Poet. 24, τὸ δὲ ἰαμβεῖον καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικά καὶ τὸ μέν ὀρχηστικόν, τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν.

83. **fidibus**: dative after *dedit.* The two chief divisions of lyric poetry were the song and chorus, or the Aeolic and Doric lyric. The first was represented by Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon; the second by Alcman, Arion, Stesichorus, Ibycus, and, above all, by Simonides and Pindar. Horace refers to the Doric in vv. 83 and 84, and to the Aeolic in v. 85. The kinds of lyrics more particularly alluded to are hymns to the gods; ἐγκώμια, in honor of princes or heroes; ἐπίνικοι or ἐπινίκια, victors' songs; ἐρωτικά, love songs; and σκόλια, convivial songs.

85. **iuvenum curas**: cf. Epod. 2. 37, *malarum, quas amor curas habet.*

86. **vices**: this word refers to changes, differences, *species diversae*, under which an object is manifested. Some take it here as simply synonymous with *colores*, though it is perhaps better to understand it as alluding to those differences of meter (*vices numerorum*) that have just been apportioned (*descriptas*), each to its proper style. — **colores**: *tone;* cf. 236.

88. **pudens prave**: these two words belong together.

89. With the thought, cf. Cic. de Opt. Gen. 1. 1, *et in tragoedia comicum vitiosum est et in comoedia turpe tragicum.*

90. **indignatur**: stronger than *non volt.* — **privatis**: referring to comedy as depicting daily life. To make the allusion perfectly plain, *prope socco dignis* is added

91. **cena Thyestae**: where Thyestes eats his own children, which are set before him by his brother Atreus. The story was familiar from Greek tragedy (Aesch. Agam. 1517 ff.) and from the Thyestes of Varius; see on S. 1. 5. 39.

94. **Chremes**: generally the name of an old man; it frequently occurs in Terence. The allusion here seems to be to the passionate scene in Heaut. 5. 4, where the angry father abuses his son Clitipho. — **delitigat**: a new formation of Horace's, in which *de* is intensive, as in *deproeliare, desaevire.*

95. **tragicus**: belonging to Telephus and Peleus, and meaning simply *in a tragedy;* cf. *Davus Comicus*, S. 2. 5. 91; Cic. in Pis. 20. 47, *sermoni pedestri;* see on S. 2. 6. 17.

96. Telephus was the son of Auge and Hercules, and was king of Mysia. Having attacked the Greeks on their way to Troy, he was wounded by Achilles. His wound could only be cured, so he was told by the oracle, by the one that inflicted it. For this purpose he presented himself before Agamemnon at Argos, who prevails upon Achilles to heal him with the rust of the spear with which he had been wounded. This subject was dramatically treated by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Agathon, Ennius, and Accius. Probably the allusion here is to the play of Euripides, of which we have a number of fragments preserved in the notes of the scholiasts on Aristophanes. For Peleus, son of Aeacus, husband of Thetis and father of Achilles, see Class. Dict. He led a life of varied adventure, both in the early and closing part of which he might be spoken of as *exsul*. The reference is probably to a play of Sophocles. Euripides also wrote a play of this name. — **uterque**: *pauper* refers especially to Telephus, and *exsul* to Peleus.



97. **ampullas**: Horace seems to have been the first to use *ampulla* and *ampullari* (Ep. 1. 3. 14) as a translation of λήκυθος and ληκυθίζειν. The expressions are applied to bombast, high-sounding phrases, etc., but the origin of this application is not clear. The most general view refers it to the shape of the λήκυθοι (*oil flasks*), for they had a narrow neck and swelling sides. The term λήκυθος was also applied to the cartilage of the throat called "Adam's apple," and from this fact Callimachus's designation of tragedy as μοῦσα ληκύθειος is explained by the scholiast. Kiessling thinks that this use of the term by Callimachus was the starting-point of its general figurative application. Wilkins suggests that λήκυθοι were used to hold painters' colors, and that thus the word came to mean "excessively colored speech," — a good suggestion, though the proof is not positive that the λήκυθοι were so used; cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 14. 3. We may add still another explanation, which is preferred by Harper's Lex. In Aristophanes, Frogs, 1200 ff., Aeschylus constantly uses the expression ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν to finish up verses of Euripides so as to make them ridiculous. From this joke it could easily have been extended to mean phrases or expressions with more sound than sense, and so bombast in general. — **sesquipedalia**: ἕπη τριπήχη or ἁμαξιαῖα ῥήματα. Gellius, 19. 7, quotes from Laevius such words as *foedifragos, dulciorelocus*, and others.

98. **tetigisse**: see on S. 2. 8. 9.

99. **pulchra . . . poemata**: these please the taste, *dulcia* touch the heart.

101. **adflent**: see App. Cf. St. Paul, χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων καὶ κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων, Romans xii. 15.

104. **male . . . mandata**: *if you speak sentiments that have been improperly assigned you*, i.e. if your words do not suit your condition according to the injunction of the next sentence; cf. *fortunis absona*, v. 112.

107. **lasciva**: not *lascivious*, but merely *playful.* — **severum**: generally applied to persons; *serius*, to things.

108 ff. 'Nature gives us an inner feeling varied according to environment; to this inner feeling our speech must correspond.'

109. **iuvat**: rarely thus used in a personal sense.

113. **equites peditesque**: as we might say, *pit and gallery*. The *equites* are the aristocracy (cf. Ep. 2. 1. 185), and by a humorous play on the word its complement in a military sense is added so as to designate the whole audience; cf. Liv. 1. 44, *omnes cives Romani equites peditesque*.

118. **Colchus**: as the persons connected with the story of Medea. — **Assyrius**: not with any special reference to Medea, but to contrast the effeminate Assyrians with the fierce Colchians. — **Thebis . . . an Argis**: two prominent Greek tribes are contrasted; it is not necessary to suppose that there is a definite reference to any persons, as Creon and Eteocles for Thebes, or Agamemnon for Argos.

119–130. 'Either follow tradition in the development of your plot or originate one yourself. In either event, be consistent throughout.'

120. **Scriptor**: *as a poet*. — **honoratum**: "When in receipt of his due honors." Wilkins. This may refer to the embassy sent to induce him to return to the conflict, and to the heroic deeds which culminated in the death of Hector. Kiessling suggests that the elder son of Piso had it in mind to dramatize that part of Homer; cf. v. 129.

121. **impiger**, etc.: "*Make him impatient, fiery, ruthless, keen.*" Con.

122. **iura neget**, etc.: cf. the description given of him by Agamemnon, Il. A 287 ff.

123. **Medea ferox**: the murderer of her children and her rival. — **flebilis Ino**: through the enmity of Juno, Athamas, husband of Ino, was afflicted with madness and murdered his son Learchus. Ino threw herself, with her other son, Melicertes, into the sea, where they were both changed into marine deities, — Ino to Leucothea, and Melicertes to Palaemon. In Euripides's play of this name she was made the type of sorrow.

124. Ixion, king of the Lapithae and father of Peirithous, murdered his father-in-law Deioneus, so as to escape payment of the promised bridal gifts, and, when purified by Zeus, rewarded his benefactor by attempting to gain the love of Juno. As a punishment he was chained to a perpetually rolling wheel. Aeschylus wrote a tragedy of this name. Io, beloved by Jupiter, was changed by him into a heifer, so as to avoid Juno's jealousy. Juno, learning of what had been done, tormented her with a gadfly, so that she was driven from land to land, until, finding rest on the banks of the Nile, she recovered her form and bore a son named Epaphus. Her wanderings are depicted at length in the Prometheus of Aeschylus. — **tristis Orestes**: the epithet *tristis* seems to allude to the time when he was pursued by the Furies after the murder of his mother, as depicted in the Eumenides of Aeschylus and the Orestes and Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides.



125. **Siquid**: the alternative of v. 119.

128 ff. "But to find such new subjects, to treat in an individual way (*proprie dicere*) topics unclaimed, and of general nature (*communia*), is a difficult task. You act more wisely in dramatizing a part of Homer." The definition of *communia* is given by the scholiasts: *item communia, id est, non ante dicta a quoquam, quae patent omnibus; quemadmodum domus aut ager sine domino communis est*, Schol. Cruq. *Communia* is thus identical with *ignota* and *indicta*, and refers back to *inexpertum*.

129. **deducis**: see on Ep. 2. 1. 225.

131. **Publica māteries**: this does not refer to *communia* of v. 128, but to *Iliacum carmen*. Since Piso had decided on his subject, Horace now proceeds to give directions how so well known a theme may still be treated with individuality.

132. **non circa**, etc.: "If you will not loiter along the cheap and easy track that others have marked out, nor translate simply, nor be a slavish imitator."

135. To break the chains at last, would spoil the harmony of his work (*operis lex*), and his reverence too, for the author he is imitating, constrains him.

136–152. The thought, which from v. 131, has been shifting from the drama, now turns fully to the epos. 'The beginning is not to be too pompous; rather let the work show progress as it proceeds.' — **incipies**: future of recommendation or command. — **scriptor cyclicus**: "There was a mass of songs and legends about Troy, which the two great epics left untouched. The material was worked up, between 776 B.C. and 550 B.C., by a number of epic poets of the Ionian school, who aimed at linking their poems with the Iliad or Odyssey, as introductions or continuations. In

later times, compilers of mythology used to make abstracts in prose from these epics, taking them in the chronological order of the events, so as to make one connected story. Such a prose compilation was called an epic cycle (or circle), and the compilers themselves were called cyclic writers. In modern times, the name cyclic has been transferred from the prose compilers to the poets." Jebb, Primer of Greek Lit., p. 37. It is not known from which one Horace here quotes.

138. **hiatu**: *mouth-stretching.*

139. A translation of a Greek proverb, preserved in Athen. 14. 616[d], ὤδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβεῖτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μῦν.

141. Horace gives, in substance, the first three lines of the Odyssey.

144. **cogitat**: *he purposes.* — **speciosa . . . miracula**: *striking marvels.*

145. **Antiphaten**: king of the Laestrygonians, who devoured several of Ulysses's companions, as mentioned, Od. κ, 100 ff. Polyphemus, the Cyclops, figures conspicuously in Od. ι, and Scylla and Charybdis in Od. λ, 85 ff.

146. Homer is here contrasted with some faulty Cyclic poets. Meleager was the half-brother of Tydeus, the father of Diomed. He was especially famed for the destruction of the wild boar sent by Diana to annoy the citizens of Calydon in Aetolia, but his adventures would be ill suited to the story of his nephew's wanderings. Tydeus fell in the attack of the "Seven against Thebes," and Diomed was one of the Epigoni, who renewed the contest; but whether the return of Diomed was from that expedition or from the Trojan war, we may not say. Porphyrio says the reference is to a poem of Antimachus, which filled twenty-four books, before getting to the campaign of the "Seven against Thebes."

147. Probably alluding to the Cyprian Lays of Stasinus, which began their story before the birth of Helen or Achilles, and narrated the early part of the war. According to Servius (Aen. 3. 338), Helen and Castor and Pollux were all born from one egg; Horace gives Helen one to herself, and divides the other between Castor and Pollux; S. 2. 1. 26, *ovo prognatus eodem.*

148. **in medias res**: as the Iliad, or Vergil's Aeneid.

151. He so mingles fact and fiction, that no discrepancy arises.



— **veris**: abl., as seen from Od. 4. 1. 23, *tibia mixtis carminibus;* cf. Od. 4. 15. 30.

153–178. Horace now gives directions as to the adaptation of the characters to their time of life. He returns to v. 129, and the intention of Piso to write a drama connected with the Iliad. Most editors put a colon or period after *audi*, and find the apodosis to *si eges* in v. 156 and 157; but surely the very first sentence should show that he is now returning to the drama.

154. **aulaea manentis**: see on Ep. 2. 1. 189.

155. **cantor**: the close of the plays of Plautus and Terence is generally marked by some invitation to applaud, as *vos plaudite, plaudite*, etc. These words may have been spoken by the last actor, and it is contended by Hermann (Opusc. 1. 302), that *cantor* in our passage is equivalent to *histrio*, a view that has the support of the scholiasts, and has been accepted by many editors and Harper's Lex. On closer examination, it is found that there are no passages to support this meaning of *cantor*, save Cic. pro Sest. 55. 118, and even there the interpretation is by no means sure. In the Trinummus of Plautus, and in all the plays of Terence, the final *plaudite* is assigned to some one indicated in the Mss. by the Greek letter ω, and the supposition is a likely one, that this marks the *cantor*, who may be either, as Bentley assumed, the flute-player (*tibicen*), or as Wilkins argues, the singer who rendered the *cantica*, or lyrical portions of the play.

158. The characteristics of different ages are given; *puer*, 158–160; *adulescens*, 161–165; *vir*, 166–168; *senex*, 169–174. Cf. Aristot. Rhet. 2. 12 ff. — **Reddere . . . voces**: not simply *repeat words*, but *return intelligent answers.* Cf. Ariadne's complaint of the *aurae ignarae: nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces*, Catull. 64. 166.

159. **signat humum**: *with steady foot tracks the ground.*

160. **in horas**: *from one hour to another;* cf. S. 2. 7. 10.

161. **custode**: the pedagogue, whose labors were finished when the *toga virilis* was assumed.

162. **campi**: the Campus Martius.

165. **sublimis cupidusque**: *ambitious and eager.*

167. **opes**: from its union with *amicitias*, it may refer to power or influence, rather than wealth.

170. **quaerit**: used absolutely, as in Ep. 1. 7. 57.

171. **timide gelideque**: *coolly and cautiously*, for the fire and fearlessness of youth are gone.

172. **dilator**, etc.: *a dallier, patient in hope, slow in action, eager for life.* A young man is more impatient than an old man, and more desirous of the immediate fulfilment of his hopes. On *avidus futuri*, a good comment is made by Acro: *cupidus futuri, quia semper timore mortis vivere desiderat; nam timor mortis desiderium vitae est.* See App.

173. **difficilis**: *hard to deal with.* — **querulus**: *surly.*

175. "Years as they come, bring blessings in their train,
Years as they go, take blessings back again." Con.

176. **Ne forte**: not a command, but a final sentence, giving the purpose of the following sentence.

178. **aevo**: belongs with both *adjunctis* and *aptis*, which are connected by *que*. For the position of *que*, cf. S. 1. 6. 44. — **morabimur**: *we are to dwell with care on*, i.e. pay particular attention to the characteristics of each time of life.

179–188. 'Some scenes are to be exhibited on the stage, others to be merely reported.' The following passage from Müller's Hist. Gr. Lit. is quoted by Macleane: "The actions to which no speech is attached, and which do not serve to develop thoughts and feelings, are imagined to pass behind or without the scene, and are only related on the stage. Hence the importance of the parts of messengers and heralds in ancient tragedy. The poet was not influenced only by the reasons given by Horace; there was also the deeper general reason, that it is never the outward act with which the interest of ancient tragedy is most intimately bound up. The action is internal and spiritual; the reflections, resolutions, feelings, the mental or moral phenomena which can be expressed in speech, are developed on the stage. For outward action, which is generally mute, or at all events, cannot be adequately expressed by words, the epic form, narration, is the only appropriate vehicle. Moreover, the costume of tragic actors was calculated for impressive declamation, and not for action. The lengthened and stuffed-out figures would have had an awkward, not to say a ludicrous, effect in combat or other violent action. From the sublime to the ridiculous would have been but one step, which ancient tragedy carefully avoided risking."



184. **facundia praesens** = *facundia praesentis nuntii.*

185. The illustrations are taken from the Medea of Euripides, the Atreus of Sophocles (cf. v. 91) or the Thyestes of Euripides, the Tereus of Sophocles, and, according to Probus's commentary on Verg. Ecl. 6. 31, the Cadmus of Euripides. In the play of Seneca, Medea does just what Horace says she should not do, but it is not certain that his plays were acted on the stage.

187. Procne and her sister Philomela, when pursued by Tereus (see Clas. Dict.), were changed into birds, — Procne into a swallow, and Philomela into a nightingale; cf. Ov. Met. 6. 425 ff. The Greek writers make Procne the nightingale, and Philomela a swallow; see Preller, Gr. Mythol. 2. 140–144. Cadmus and Harmonia were changed into serpents, as is told by Ovid, Met. 4. 567.

188. **incredulus**: this has special reference to the marvels of v. 187, while *odi* includes also the disgusting details of vv. 185, 186.

189–201. Horace turns now to the consideration of the proper length of a play, the circumstances under which the intervention of a god may be employed, and the function of the chorus.

189. This law is based on the usage of Greek tragedy, which regarded a play as consisting of three parts, — the *πρόλογος*, or introduction; the *ἐπεισόδιον*, or plot; and the *ἔξοδος*, or *dénouement* (Aristot. Poet. 12). These parts were separated from each other by choral odes, and in the same manner the *ἐπεισόδιον* was divided into minor parts, whose number was not positively fixed, but of which there were commonly three. This triple division became the type, and thus five acts were established as the norm. This law was probably first distinctly formulated by the Alexandrian grammarians (Teuff. Röm. Lit. § 16. 7), by whom also it may have been applied to comedy. How far this arrangement was in the minds of Plautus and Terence as they wrote, cannot be determined. Their Mss. show no trace of a division into acts; yet there are allusions which show that they were not ignorant of some such divisions, as when Terence says, in the prologue to Hecyra, v. 39, *primo actu placeo.* Varro, too, wrote a work *de actibus scenicis.* The grammarians, as Donatus, take such divisions for granted.

190. **spectanda**: cf. S. 1. 10. 39.

191. **deus**: the familiar *deus ex machina* — not to be confounded with the introduction of a god as one of the characters, as, for instance, Hermes in Prometheus or Athene in Sophocles's Ajax — is only to be resorted to when the subject is of sufficient dignity to warrant it; cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 20. 53. This was a favorite device of Euripides.

192. Tragedy was developed out of the choral song. Thespis (about 535 B.C.) introduced an actor who carried on a dialogue with the leader of the chorus. Aeschylus added a second, and Sophocles a third. Of course, mute persons might be brought on in any number.

193 ff. 'Let the chorus have an actor's place, and sustain an individual part in the play.' Aristotle (Poet. 18. 19) gives exactly similar directions. It is not to be outside the play, singing odes wholly disconnected with the action of the piece. The chorus, though originally lyric, assumed dramatic functions and was drawn into the play as an actor; so especially in the Eumenides and Suppliants of Aeschylus. On the other hand, there was the opposite tendency for the chorus to drop back into its purely lyric function, connected but loosely, if at all, with the action. So it appears often in Euripides, as in the Hecuba, Troades, or the famous ode in Helena, v. 1301. See Moulton, p. 176 ff.

196. **consilietur**: in the rare meaning of *give advice*.

197. **regat**: *corrigat, si irascantur.* — **pacare**: see App.

198. **mensae brevis**: as *cena brevis*, Ep. 1. 14. 35.

199. **apertis . . . portis**: cf. Od. 3. 5. 23. In these lines we have another function of the chorus developed, what Schlegel calls that of the "ideal spectator," giving expressions of moral sympathy, exhortation, instruction, and warning, and setting the key-note for the audience. Thus they are spectators *of* the drama. But they are also spectators *in* the drama, and so supply the place which in modern plays is filled by the confidant; Moulton, p. 66 ff. In this discussion of the chorus, Horace had especial reference to Greek tragedy, but the chorus was also an essential part of Roman plays, and was used by Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, and the rest. As the orchestra was filled with seats, the chorus must have been placed on the stage, and so naturally assumed a near relation to the actors, like some of the crowds in modern plays.



202–219. From the chorus, the transition is a natural one to the accompanying music of the flute and lyre. This was originally simple, but later became loud, ornate, and passionate, a development that reached even to the language of the chorus. — **tibia**: the flute was made of reed, wood, ivory, or bone, and had generally four holes. Afterwards its length was made greater, whereupon it was strengthened with bands of metal, and the number of holes increased so that it rivalled the trumpet. — **orichalco** = ὀρείχαλκος, *mountain copper*, a metal mentioned as early as the Homeric hymns, but said by Pliny, H. N. 34. 2. 2, to be found no longer. The spelling *aurichalcum* was an effort to connect it with *aurum*. The metal must have been a yellow compound of copper.

203. **tenuis**: *weak, thin*, when used of sound. — **simplex**: afterwards two flutes were joined together near the mouth-piece, and played by one person.

204. **adspirare et adesse**: *to accompany and support*, i.e. *to support with an accompaniment.* — **erat utilis**: *was used, in usu erat.*

205. **nondum**: to be taken with *spissa nimis;* the contrast between the present and the past is merely in the difference of audience.

206. **quo**: *whither*, referring to *sedilia.* — **numerabilis**: a word first used by Horace, possibly a translation of εὐαρίθμητος. — **utpote parvus**: because the population was small, the audience at the theatre could be easily numbered.

207. **frugi castusque verecundus**: *utpote* does not belong to these adjectives, for these were not qualities which would tend to keep them from going to the theatre, but which would make them satisfied with simple music.

208. Growth in power and wealth have always resulted finally in the corruption of art. — **urbes**: Horace is thinking of Greece, and the expressions *agros extendere, urbes latior amplecti murus* are general, though *victor* would be especially appropriate as referring to the Persian wars.

209. **latior**: belongs not so much to *murus* as it does to *amplecti, with wide sweep.* — **vinoque diurno**: a sign of *convivia tempestiva*, and so of luxury; see on S. 2. 8. 3.

210. **placari Genius**: a Roman touch, though applied to

Greece; see on Ep. 2. 1. 144. — **impune**: without being regarded as an offender against good manners.

212. A crowd composed of all classes and intent on relaxation could not be expected to exhibit true artistic taste. For this use of *sapere*, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 68.

213. **rusticus**: another Roman touch; at Athens it would have been civilian or sailor.

214. **motum**: explained by *vagus*, refers to the dancing movement of the flute-player over the stage, and *luxuriem*, explained by *vestem traxit*, to the long, flowing robe which he wore.

216. **voces**: *tones*, i.e. *strings*. — **severis**: referring not simply to the earlier simplicity and austerity, compared with the later development, but to the gravity of this kind of music, compared with the flute.

217 ff. "Even the language of the chorus was affected by the same striving for display, and a fervid eloquence produced (S. 2. 2. 93) an unwonted form of expression, while the thought, rich in wise saws and skilled to know the future, rivalled in obscurity the oracles of Delphi."

220–250. Horace passes now to the satyr drama, discussing first its origin and history (220–225), then the language suitable to it. This should strike the happy mean between coarseness and bombast (225–233), just as the satyr drama stands between tragedy and comedy (234–243). The fauns are of rural origin, and must not use the speech of the town (244–250). It has been held by many scholars that the satyric drama was unknown to the Roman stage. If this be true, we are at a loss to understand why Horace, who in all his precepts is looking to some practical application, should have given so much space to this subject. On the other hand, Porphyrio says that one Pomponius had written several such pieces, and Nettleship and Kiessling think it likely that other such attempts were not then uncommon. Verse 220 is simply a paraphrase for '*tragic poet*,' following the etymology which derived τραγῳδία from τράγος, because a goat was the prize offered at such choral contests. That such a prize was given is attested by several inscriptions (cf. Christ, Gr. Lit. p. 143, n. 2), but the word is rather to be derived from the fact that the singers who personated the satyrs were clothed in goat skins (Et. Magnum, 764. 6).



221. Horace derives the satyr drama from tragedy, as did also the tradition which ascribed its introduction to Pratinas (fl. about 490 B.C.). On the other hand, Aristotle (Poet. 4) says that tragedy was developed out of the dithyrambic satyr chorus. Both are right. Out of the satyr dance was developed tragedy, which, reflecting back on the satyr dance whence it sprung, brought that to artistic form and life in the satyric drama; Moulton, p. 197.

222. **incolumi gravitate**: *without sacrificing the dignity of his subject*, that is *of his tragic characters;* cf. 231–233. — **eo, quod**: the reason here given for the introduction of the satyr drama applied also to the Greeks; for it was to relieve the tired spectators that Aeschylus was led to put such a piece as the fourth play in a tetralogy.

224. **sacris**, etc.: the Dionysia must have been opened with sacrifices, and it was the dûty of all good worshipers to drink freely.

225. **commendare**: *to commend to the audience.* For *ita . . . ne*, cf. Ep. 1. 13. 12. The idea is that the jovial and witty satyrs can only be worthy of approval on the condition suggested in v. 227 ff.

228. The characters employed in the satyr drama were, to a large extent, the same as those employed in tragedy, and they must not be made ridiculous; cf. *incolumi gravitate*, v. 222.

229. **tabernas**: the *fabula togata* was often called *tabernaria*, to indicate its origin and character.

231. **effutire**: depends on *indigna*, as in Ep. 1. 3. 85. — **levis**: *trivial*. — **tragoedia**: here personal, the muse of tragedy, Melpomene.

232. **matrona**: it was proper even for a matron to dance on certain religious festivals; *sunt enim quaedam sacra, in quibus saltant matronae, sicut in sacris Matris deum*, Acr. Cf., too, the dancing of Licymnia (Terentia?) in honor of Diana, Od. 2. 12. 17 ff. — **moveri**: see on Ep. 2. 2. 125.

233. **intererit . . . paulum**, etc.: *will modestly hold herself somewhat aloof from the wanton satyrs.*

234 ff. The preceding lines had reference to the general tone; now he treats especially the subject of language, which, he says, is to preserve a happy medium. "In case I should write satyr dramas (*Satyrorum scriptor*), I would not deal alone in words plain and

literal, nor descend to the low level of comedy and make Silenus speak like vulgar Davus; but from the material of daily life, I would fashion a poetic diction that would at once charm and drive to despair all imitators." — **inornata**: without the adornment of *colores et figurae*. — **dominantia** translates *κύρια*, which means *literal, without metaphor*. Wilkins quotes from Cape's Introduction to Aristotle, Rhet. p. 282, n.: "It is therefore opposed to all the other kinds of words; to all figurative, foreign, archaic, or in any way uncommon words." — **nomina . . . verbaque**: not directly *nouns* and *verbs*, but as in S. 1. 3. 103, *names* and *words*, where *nomina* are names for outward objects, and *verba* those articulate sounds by which expression is given to thought and feeling.

236. **colori**: the dative after such verbs, instead of the ablative with the preposition *ab*, is frequent in Horace; cf. S. 1. 4. 48; Od. 2. 2. 18; Ep. 1. 18. 4.

237. **Davus**: a typical slave name in comedy; cf. *Davus comicus*, S. 2. 5. 91.

238. **Pythias**: *persona comica in comoedia Lucilii* (Orelli suggests *Caecilii*), *quae inducitur per astutiam accipere argentum a Simone domino suo in dotem suae filiae*, Schol. Cruq. With the expression *emuncto* (*chiselled*), Horace drops into the sphere of low comedy.

239. Silenus, the oldest and wisest of the Satyrs, was the tutor and constant companion of Bacchus, and so was worthy to be treated with dignified respect.

240. This line forms the contrast with v. 234. — **ex noto**: *from the materials of daily life*, almost *ex cotidiano sermone*. — **carmen**: a poem, but referring especially to the form, not the thought; therefore, a poetic style. — **sequar**: *I will strive after;* cf. Ep. 2. 2. 143.

241. **speret idem**: Orelli quotes from Pascal, *Pensées*, I. 3: "Les meilleurs livres sont ceux que chaque lecteur croit qu'il aurait pu faire."

242. **series iuncturaque**: "arrangement and a proper setting;" cf. v. 47.

243. **de medio sumptis**: so Cicero directs the orator to use words *sumpta de medio*, Or. 49. 162.



244. **Fauni**: see on Ep. 1. 19. 4.

245. **triviis**: see on S. 1. 9. 59: this, with *forenses*, expresses the idea of *urbanus, the city folk*. It is in the cities that the most striking extremes meet, even in language, and the Fauns are to shun exquisite and affected effeminacy on the one hand, and coarse ribaldry on the other.

246. **iuvenentur**: a *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον*, after the Greek *νεανιεύεσθαι* or *μειρακιεύεσθαι*; in force equal to *molliter aut iuveniliter luxuriari; sport with too wanton verses.*

247. **crepent**: "or crack obscene and disgraceful jokes." Currie.

248. **quibus est equus et pater et res**: i.e. the *equites, ingenui*, and *divites*. The "*equus*" was now a capital of four hundred thousand sesterces.

249. **fricti**: belongs also to *nucis;* by this probably chestnuts are meant; cf. Verg. Ecl. 2. 52. The *cicer frictum* is the Italian *cecio fritto*.

250. **corona**: *the victor's crown*, symbol of approval.

251–274. With some sign of haste, as if he had delayed too long in his remarks on the satyric drama, Horace now turns to the metre to be used in tragedy, and gives in a word the nature and history of iambic trimeter. 'The iambus was a quick foot, so that, to avoid monotony, it came to be measured by dipodies. A proper admixture of spondees gave it more weight, though this was carried to excess by Accius and Ennius. To attain success we must go to the Greek models and study their usage.'

252. **pes citus**: cf. *celeres iambi*, Od. 1. 16. 24. — **unde**, etc.: from that rapidity arose the practice of measuring iambic verse by dipodies. This does not make the verse really any slower, but it breaks the monotonous tripping sound; translate, *wherefore it ordered the name of trimeters to be given to iambics.* — **trimetris**: dat. by attraction to case of *iambeis*, as S. 1. 3. 57; 2. 3. 47. — **adcrescere**: appropriately used of the gradual adhesion of a new term. — **iussit**: the subject is *iambus*, personified as *tragoedia*, v. 231; this personification is kept up throughout the passage; cf. *redderet, recepit, cederet socialiter.*

253. **iambeis**: a *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον*. This is not an adjective for *iambicis*, as Harper's Lex. says, but a substantive, = *ἰαμβεῖον*, a

formation exactly like *ἐλεγεῖον*. Here, of course, it is limited to iambic *senarii*. — **cum**: concessive.

254. **primus ad extremum**: used somewhat freely for *a primo ad extremum pedem*. The expression approaches, but is not quite similar to *Ianus summus ab imo*, Ep. 1. 1. 54. — **non ita pridem**: these words have occasioned considerable difficulty. The plain meaning of the sentence seems to be that "not long ago, to give iambic verses more weight, spondees were allowed to be substituted in the odd places." The truth of this statement is not easy to establish. In the oldest specimens of the iambics of Archilochus spondees appear; yet the theory of the grammarians accorded with the view of Horace, as appears from Plotius Sacerdos, p. 517, Keil. So we may suppose with Orelli that Horace is speaking rather loosely of what, it would certainly seem, ought to have been the line of development. Still, how Horace could have conceived of this change as not long ago is a puzzle, and cannot be explained by taking the phrase in never so loose a sense. Nettleship thinks these words are translated from the Greek, and date from some grammarian who could have used them consistently, supposing this change to have taken place about the time of Aeschylus. But, as we have said, it was as old as the time of Archilochus. Kiessling interprets differently. He takes *non ita pridem* as dating from the time of *iussit, not long before*, as Cic. Brut. 10. 41, (*Themistocles*) . . . *fuit regnante iam Graecia, nostra autem civitate non ita pridem dominatu regio liberata*. This change then antedates the name *trimetrum*, and the three stages of development depicted by Horace are: first, the pure iambic hexapody, as used in the beginning before Archilochus; second, the weightier verse of Archilochus with spondees substituted, as above stated; third, the new measurement by dipodies. Curiously enough, the first use of this term *τρίμετρον* for *ἰαμβεῖον* is in Aristophanes, Clouds, 642, which is considerably later than the spondees of Archilochus. Grammatically, this explanation is most excellent, and yet, if Horace adduces the name *τρίμετρον* as a proof of the quickness of the iambic line, it is more likely that he was thinking of pure iambics, and not of heavy, half-spondaic verses.

258. **quarta**: as a matter of course, the sixth foot was kept free from this intrusion. — **socialiter**: another *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον*. — **hic**: i.e. *iambus*. "In the famous (*nobilibus*) trimeters of Accius it sometimes hardly appears at all, and its scarcity brings upon the heavy verses of Ennius the charge of carelessness or lack of art."



260. The spondees in this line recall those of Ennius.

262. **premit**: the subject is *iambus*, supplied from *hic*, but logically it is not the *iambus*, but its absence, that brings the charge.

263. Such poets often escape through the ignorance of the judge and the allowance which is made for the Romans. To test metrical discernment, Horace leaves this verse improperly modulated, so that it has no caesura except the one we are forced to make within the compound *im-modulata*. Similar verses are S. 1. 2. 84; 1. 3. 76; 1. 9. 61.

264. **indigna**: *unmerited*.

265. **vager**, etc.: *shall I then turn myself loose and write without restraint, or shall I rather act on the supposition that all will see my faults, and so with circumspection keep myself safe within the limits of pardon*: cf. *vagus frenis remotis*, S. 2. 7. 74.

266. **tutus**: as v. 28.

267. **Vitavi**: Horace clearly prefers the latter alternative, yet even then he adds, "such virtue is only negative."

268. **Vos**: *Pisones*, as v. 272.

269. **nocturna**, etc.: cf. Ep. 1. 19. 11.

270. Horace turns aside to give Plautus another punch; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 170 ff. — **proavi**: this judgment was not confined to the ancients, for Cicero says his plays were filled with a *iocandi genus . . . elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum*, de Off. 1. 29. 104, and Quintilian quotes as follows: *Varro musas, Aeli Stilonis sententia, Plautino dicit sermone locuturas fuisse si latine loqui vellent*, 10. 1. 99.

274. **digitis**: i.e. *by beating time*.

275–308. 'The Greeks invented tragedy and comedy; the Romans imitated them with success, and even developed a dramatic art of their own. Their success would have been as great here as in other things if they had learned the value of patient toil. They think poetry an inspiration or phrensy merely. I do not claim to be a genius, but I will undertake to teach others some all-important lessons.'

Tragedy was developed out of the dithyrambic chorus. The

first step may have been taken by dividing the chorus into parts or groups, i.e. semi-choruses. Then the leader, ἐξάρχων or κορυφαῖος, assumed a more independent rôle, carrying on a dialogue with the others, so that the dramatic element is added to the lyric. Thespis introduced an actor, one who should stand apart and carry on the dialogue with the leader, and perhaps, too, give more elaborate epic recitations, for both of these functions seem to be suggested by the word ὑποκριτής; cf. Sommerbrodt in Rh. Mus. 22. 513 and 30. 456. See also on v. 80 and Diog. 3. 56. Thespis was from Icaria, and brought out his first play at Athens, 536 B.C. The allusion here made to the wagons is a mistake, arising from a confusion with the beginnings of comedy, when bands of revellers, κῶμοι, paraded the streets in carts, joking and jesting, so that σκώμματα ἐξ ἁμαξῆς became proverbial. This is said to have been a special part of the celebration of the Anthesteria at Athens.

277. This verse is also based on statements about comic actors. An old term for comedy, used by Aristophanes among others, was τρυγῳδία, which, according to the scholiast on Ach. 499, was derived from τρύξ, *lees*, because with these the actors smeared their faces. This may have been done to destroy their identity, and so make their personations more effective. Thespis is said, however, by Suidas to have introduced the practice of smearing the face with white lead and covering it with linen masks.

278. Aeschylus was the first great master of tragedy, and so we are not surprised that later tradition attributed to him the invention of almost all scenic appliances. Masks must have been introduced by Thespis. They were made of linen or bark, and covered the whole head like a helmet. In Rome masks were not used until about 124 B.C.; cf. Teuffel, Röm. Lit. § 16. 13. — **pallae . . . honestae**: *graceful robe*. The development of rich scenic costume was one of the special services of Aeschylus. Greek actors wore generally a handsome, loose-flowing robe, girded up close under the arms, over which other garments were worn according to the character represented. *Palla* is the term for the robe which took the place of the toga for women, but here, as often, it is applied to the long-flowing Greek costume that was seen on the Roman stage. Of course in the *praetextae* the costumes were more Roman.



279. **modicis**, etc.: *with moderate sized board he spread a stage*. This is better than to translate with Harper's Lex., "laid the stage over an insignificant scaffolding," taking *tignis* as dative. The form of stage used by Aeschylus is just now one of the most fiercely contested points of classical research. The actor of Thespis was mounted, we are told, on a slight scaffolding, τράπεζα, ἐλεός, and Aeschylus undoubtedly improved this arrangement; but whether his actors were mounted on top of the *proscenium*, ten or twelve feet higher than the chorus, with which they are in all the action most intimately connected, may well be doubted. Dörpfeld's new and startling theory is, that the actors played before the *proscenium*, on a level with the orchestra. See articles in Class. Rev. IV. pp. 223, 272, 276; Harvard Class. Studies, II. p. 159 ff.

280. **magnumque loqui** has reference to loftiness of style. The *vita* of Aeschylus says that he made the *coturnus* higher, not that he invented it.

281. **his**: Thespis and Aeschylus. In its elements comedy is as old as tragedy (see on v. 80), and Susarion, the reputed founder of Attic comedy, lived as early as Thespis; but comedy was not recognized by the archon and allowed to be given at the festivals of Dionysus till between 465 and 460 B.C.; see on S. 1. 4. 1.

283. **lege regi**: see on S. 1. 4. 3.

284. **turpiter obticuit**: the chorus declined and passed away in Middle and New Comedy, though the cause does not seem to have been the taking from it of the privilege of abuse. In part this decline of the chorus was a legitimate literary development, already foreshadowed in the two latest plays of Aristophanes, viz. Ecclesiazousae and Plutus (Moulton, p. 354). In part, too, it was the result of the difficulty of equipping a chorus on account of the impoverished condition of the treasury after the Peloponnesian war.

288. **praetextas**: these were tragedies treating of Roman subjects, as opposed to those adapted from the Greek. The analogy of the form *togata* < *toga*, and *palliata* < *pallium*, would lead us to expect *praetextata* < *toga praetexta*, and this form is frequent in the grammarians. Such plays were written by almost all the early tragic writers, as Naevius, Pacuvius, Accius, Ennius. — **togatas**: see on Ep. 2. 1. 57.

290. **lingua**: here *literary productions*.

291. Same thought as Ep. 2. 1. 167.

292. **Pompilius sanguis**: nominative in address, as Od. 1. 2. 43. This term is used for variety, as he had twice used *Pisones* (v. 6 and 235), and also to make his appeal more emphatic by calling to their minds their noble origin. The Calpurnii were said to have been descended from Calpus, one of the four sons of Numa; Plut. Numa, 21.

294. **praesectum**, etc.: *and ten times corrected by a carefully pared nail;* see on S. 1. 5. 32. That the nail would be more sensitive if itself smooth and freshly pared is plain, but see App.

295 ff. 'But most people believe that poetry is a matter of genius or madness, and so poets adopt the garb and bearing of insanity.' — **fortunatius**: here applied to *ingenium*, though more properly applicable to its possessor.

297. **Democritus**: see on Ep. 2. 1. 194; cf. Cic. de Div. 1. 37. 80, *negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse; quod idem dicit Plato* (Phaed. 245); for similar sentiments, cf. Clem. Strom. 6. 18. 168; Dio Chrys. 53. 1. — **bona pars**: cf. S. 1. 1. 61.

298. **balnea vitat**: because they wish to avoid both cleanliness and company.

299. **nanciscetur**: subject to be supplied from *bona pars*. Ribbeck neatly amends by changing *si* of the next verse to *qui*. — **pretium**: *credit*.

300. **tribus Anticyris**: Anticyra was a town of Phocis where hellebore grew abundantly; cf. S. 2. 3. 82 and 166. This case was so bad that three such towns could not have cured him. The attempt to hunt up three towns of this name where hellebore grew is worse than useless.

301. **Licino**: an unknown barber. — **laevus**: *fool that I am*.

302. **purgor**: middle, not passive, and so it retains its object; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 137. — **sub verni**: Celsus (2. 1) says that such troubles were apt to come on in the spring, and so Porphyrio comments: *omnes verno tempore purgationem sumunt quod vocatur καθαρτικόν*. — **horam**: cf. Ep. 1. 16. 16.

304. **nil tanti est**: *it is not at all worth so much*, — that is, making poetry; "indeed nothing is worth so much that I would be willing to sacrifice my sanity for it." — **vice cotis**: the same comparison is said to have been made by Isocrates in regard to his teaching oratory; Ps. Plut. Vit. X. Orat. 4.



306 ff. Horace now gives some of the essential points that must be kept in mind in training the poet, but these lines are not intended as an exact analysis of the following part of the poem.

309–322. Like a genuine *doctor artis poeticae*, Horace begins his lecture by an inquiry as to the first principles of composition. 'Knowledge and culture are the first requisites for a writer. These can be best gained by philosophic study, and sometimes are more successful than beauty of style in winning favor for a play.' — **sapere**: used in a broad and liberal sense, but referring especially to that culture which is attained by thorough philosophic study; cf. Ep. 1. 2. 40. Similar training is demanded for the orator by Cic. de Or. 1. 12. 53.

310. **Rem**: the material out of which a play is to be constructed, especially that knowledge of human relations and characters essential for portraying different personages; cf. 312–315.

314. **conscripti**: i.e. *senatoris*, from the usual designation of the senators as *patres conscripti*. The origin of this term is not perfectly certain. *Conscripti* may have been added merely to distinguish the senators from the other *patres*. But the Romans themselves explained the term as *patres et conscripti*, and referred *conscripti* to an addition of plebeian members. This addition was probably not made before the overthrow of the kings. — **iudicis**: see on S. 1. 4. 123.

318. **doctum**: i.e. *qui didicit*, the one who has profited by the directions above. — **imitatorem**: Aristotle calls all poetry a μίμησις; cf. *quid enim est comoedia aliud quam imago vitae humanae*, Schol. Cruq. The poet is not to content himself with abstract ethical ideas, but must try to find these embodied in some one that can serve as a model, as Ulysses is called, Ep. 1. 2. 18; in this way his representation will be real, and his words will breathe the breath of life.

319 ff. "Sometimes a play devoid of beauty, weight (cf. Ep. 2. 2. 112), and art, if it shine with striking passages and contain correct delineation of character, delights the people more effectively and holds them better than verses poor in thought, yet of swelling

sound." For this use of *loci*, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 223; Quint. 7. 1. 41. — **morataque recte**: *in qua mores singularum personarum optime exprimuntur*, Acr.

322. **canorae**: Ep. 2. 2. 76.

323–332. 'The Greeks knew how to unite sound and sense, form and thought; but the Romans, wild with practical ideas and love of money, make literature impossible.' — **ore rotundo**: not our *orotund*, but the Greek στρογγύλον ῥῆμα, a smooth, flowing diction, such as Dionys. Hal. attributes to Lysias; cf. *erat verborum et delectus elegans et apta et quasi rotunda constructio*, Cic. Brut. 272.

324. **nullius**: rare as neuter. Porphyrio says they worked slowly and patiently; *non enim ut acciperent festinabant, sed ut placerent morabantur.*

325. **longis rationibus**: the Romans were poor mathematicians, and their system of numerals made all calculation very difficult. For practical purposes they counted largely on their fingers and by means of an *abacus*.

326. **in partis centum**: not strictly true, for they used the duodecimal, not the decimal, system. The *as* was divided into twelve *unciae*, with names as follows: *uncia, sextans, quadrans, triens, quincunx, semis, septunx, bes, dodrans, dextrans, deunx.* Horace now introduces a Roman school scene, such as was familiar to his childhood. Augustine, in his Confessions (1. 13), tells us how tiresome was the constant jingle, *unum et unum duo, duo et duo quattuor.*

328. **Poteras dixisse**: for the indicative, cf. S. 2. 1. 7 and 16. "You could have already said it," is the response of the teacher to the hesitating pupil; cf. Verg. Ecl. 1. 79, *hic mecum poteras requiescere noctem.* For the perf. inf., see on S. 2. 8. 79.

329. **Rem poteris**: the first requisite of business success is a careful guarding of the subtractions, rather than a craving of additions. — **Redit**: *is added*, i.e. to the original *quincunx.*

330. **An, haec**, etc.: "*this* is the reason we have no perfect poetry, as the Greeks, — or do we hope," etc. — **cura peculi**: with special reference to a slavish life, for the *peculium* was the property which a slave might accumulate from time to time. "Hurd observes that Longinus and Quintilian ascribe the decay of eloquence, Galen of physic, Petronius of painting, and Pliny of the whole circle of the liberal arts to the love of gain." Currie.



332. **cedro**: *ex cedro oleum, quod cedrium dicitur, nascitur, quo reliquae res cum sunt unctae, uti etiam libri, a tineis et a carie non laeduntur*, Vitruv. 2. 9. 13. — **cupresso**: cypress boxes in which the Mss. were preserved; *ex cupressino autem ligno confici solebant capsulae, in quibus reponebantur scripta poetarum contra tineas*, Schol. Cruq.

333 ff. Returning to his subject, Horace finds that the purpose of a poem is either to instruct or give pleasure; better still is it when both are united. Some faults may be pardoned, but the genuine poem, like a true picture, will please the more, the more it is read.

336. **dociles** and **fideles** are predicate adjectives, and may be translated as adverbs.

338. **voluptatis causa**: *ad delectandum.*

339. **ne**: final, not imperative.

340. **Lamiae**: an ogress, a child-eating monster, a bugbear of the Greek nursery, along with Empusa and Mormo. The name comes from λάμος, "maw" (cf. λαιμός and λάμια). See Preller, Gr. Myth. 1. 484; Verrall, Studies in Horace, p. 121.

341. **Centuriae seniorum**: in the classification of Servius Tullius, each class was divided into *iuniōres* (aged 16–46) and *seniores* (aged 46–60). The expression means here, then, the older portion of the audience, which rejects poems devoid of profitable instruction (*expertia frugis*). On the other hand, the young and haughty aristocrats pass by that which is too austere.

342. **Ramnes**: the connexion gives the meaning *young aristocrats.* This can best be derived from the use of the term to designate one of the earliest centuries of knights, who are taken in v. 113 to represent the fashionable part of the audience. The three original tribes of the Romans were called Ramnes, Tities (Titienses), and Luceres, and the same names were applied to the three centuries of *equites* formed by Romulus (Liv. 1. 1. 3). In those days, before the development of an *ordo equester*, when the *equites* were actually cavalrymen, they were necessarily young men, for their time of service seems to have extended over only ten campaigns. See Seeley, Introduction to Livy, Book I. p. 74.

343. **punctum**: see on Ep. 2. 2. 99.

345. **Sosiis**: see on Ep. 1. 20. 2. — **mare transit**: see on Ep. 1. 20. 13, though there it was to be sent away as a failure at home; here it spreads over the world as a popular novelty.

347 ff. 'There are faults that may be excused, especially when they are few and in the midst of many excellencies, but when they result from carelessness they deserve no pardon.' — **ignovisse**: the fut. perf. force is apparent here; see on S. 2. 8. 79.

348. What is intended to be a comparison is put as an independent statement. "As the harp-string sometimes sounds discordant, or the bow sometimes misses, so with a poem; but when the good preponderates, small faults are overlooked."

352. **maculis . . . fudit**: as *macula* denotes properly the stain from some liquid, the term *fudit* is appropriately used.

353. **parum cavit**: this phrase was sometimes applied to very serious crimes; "*parum cavisse videri*" *pronuntiat magistratus cum de consilii sententia capitis quem condemnaturus est*, Festus, s.v. p. 238.

354. **scriptor . . . librarius**: *a clerk.*

355. **quamvis**: see on Ep. 1. 17. 1.

357. **cessat**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 14. — **Choerilus**: see on Ep. 2. 1. 232. He is more than once contrasted with Homer.

358. **bis terve**: Bentley has shown that this expression properly refers to a few times, and hence means *rarely*, while *bis terque* is *often*. We read, therefore, *bis terve*, though the majority of the manuscripts have *bis terque*.

359. This line seems to have been suggested by the preceding relative clause: "as I laugh with astonishment if I find one good verse in Choerilus, so I am indignant if I find one bad one in Homer." There is a contradiction at first sight with v. 351, but Horace is there speaking of a poem as a whole, while here he refers to particular passages. — **bonus**: *epitheton perpetuum*, as contrasted with *bis terve bonus Choerilus.*

360. This is alluded to by Quint. 10. 24, where, speaking of the slips of great writers, he adds: *nec semper intendunt animum et nonnumquam fatigantur, cum Ciceroni dormitare interim Demosthenes* (Plut. Cic. 24) *Horatio vero et Homerus videatur.*

361. **poesis** = *poema*. The comparison of a poem to a picture is made by Simonides (Plut. de Glor. Ath. 3), and is repeated in ad Herenn. 4. 28. 39. But here the resemblance is only general and outward.



362. **abstes**: not, as some editors assert, a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, but still very rare; cf. Plaut. Trin. 264.

364. **iudicis**: *the critic.*

366–390. 'Mediocrity may be allowed in some things, but in poetry, which is not a matter of necessity, it is out of place. Do not suppose that birth or money will take the place of talent; despise not the chastenings of the critics, nor make undue haste to print.' — **iuvenum**: i.e. *filiorum*. Why this warning was addressed specially to the elder son, we do not know.

367. **ad rectum**: in a literary rather than a moral sense. — **per te sapis**: cf. *per te tibi consulis*, Ep. 1. 17. 1.

368. **tolle**: *take home* for preservation; cf. Ep. 1. 18. 12. — **certis . . . rebus**: for certain well-defined (not *quibusdam*) classes of things, mediocrity is allowable, as in the case of lawyers or actors; cf. Cic. de Or. 1. 26. 118, *in iis artibus, in quibus non utilitas quaeritur necessaria, sed animi libera quaedam oblectatio, quam diligenter et quam prope fastidiose iudicamus.*

369. **consultus iuris**: see on S. 1. 1. 9.

371. For Messala see on S. 1. 10. 29. Cascellius Aulus was an eminent jurist of the Ciceronian period; *iuris consultus urbanitatis mirae libertatisque habebatur*, Macrob. 2. 6. 1. At the time of the triumvirate he is spoken of as *senex* (Val. Max. 6. 2. 12), and if alive at this time, as the context would seem to imply, he must have been quite an old man. This allusion renders the earlier date for the composition of the Ars Poetica the more likely; see Introduction.

372. **in pretio est**: a common expression in this sense; cf. Plaut. As. 61; Poen. 331. — **mediocribus**: predicate.

373. **concessere**: gnomic perf., as Ep. 1. 19. 48; 1. 2. 48. — **columnae**: see on *pilae*, S. 1. 4. 71.

374. **symphonia** includes both instrumental and vocal music, and here refers to the introduction of such entertainment at a dinner.

375. **crassum**: the perfumes were provided by the host, and were thin enough to pour from a bottle. Pliny (13. 3. 4) mentions

as exceptional the taste of those who prefer the perfumes so thick that they have to smear themselves with them. — **papaver**: the seeds of the white poppy were roasted and served with honey as a dessert, Plin. H. N. 19. 53. 168. As to the Sardinian honey, Porphyrio says, *Corsicum et Sardum mel pessimi saporis est*, to which Schol. Cruq. adds, *Sardinia regio est ubi mel amarissimum apes conficiunt propter taxum ibi abundantem.*

377. **natum**: cf. v. 82.

379. **Ludere**: sc. *armis.* — **campestribus**: allusion is made to fencing and other military exercises that were practiced on the *Campus Martius;* cf. Ep. 1. 18. 54; Od. 1. 8. 5.

380. **indoctus**: with gen. as *lyrae sollers*, v. 407. — **pilae**: see on S. 1. 5. 48, and cf. S. 2. 2. 11. — **disci**: the throwing of the discus was introduced from the Greeks; cf. S. 2. 2. 13. — **trochi**: the rolling of the hoop was looked upon as effeminate and un-Roman, Od. 3. 24. 57.

381. **coronae** are the encircling spectators; cf. Ep. 1. 18. 53.

382. For the thought, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 114 ff. — **Quidni**: *and why not?* It is used ironically to introduce a reason for such conduct, which was intended to be as stupid as the practice itself was silly.

383. **census equestrem summam**: this construction of *censeri* with the acc. of the thing is rare, and can only be paralleled in Cic. Flacc. 32. 80; Gell. 7. 13. 1. The usual construction is the abl. For the amount see Ep. 1. 1. 58.

385 ff. 'Of course you will make no such stupid blunder as that; you will not undertake anything for which you lack natural talent, but still let me add a word of caution.' — **invita . . . Minerva**: explained by Cic. de Off. 1. 31. 110, *nihil decet invita Minerva, ut aiunt, id est adversante et repugnante natura.*

386. **id tibi**: *such is your judgment, your intelligence.* This would usually be expressed by a relative clause; *quod tuum iudicium est*, or *quo iudicio es.* — **olim**: *at any time*, as S. 2. 5. 27.

387. **Maeci**: see on S. 1. 10. 38.

388. **prematur**: sc. *custodia*, i.e. *clausum teneatur;* cf. Ep. 1. 20. 3. — **nonum . . . in annum**: this number may have been selected because of the fact that C. Helvius Cinna spent nine years in composing his Zmyrna; cf. Catull. 95. 1. Philargyrius on Verg. Ecl. 9. 35 says, *Cinna Smyrnam scripsit, quam nonum post annum, ut Catullus ait, edidit. Id quod et Quintilianus ait. Unde etiam Horatium in Arte Poetica dicunt ad eum allusisse, cum ait; nonumque prematur in annum.* But Horace is speaking of the lapse of time between composition and publication, not of the duration of composition.



389. **membranis**: parchment (*membrana Pergamena*) derives its name from Pergamum, where a new method of preparing it was invented, according to Varro, at the time of Eumenes II., 197–159 B.C. It could be written on both sides, was more durable than papyrus, and the writing could be more easily erased. But it was probably more expensive, and does not seem to have been generally used for books till the third century. Horace mentions it here and in S. 2. 3. 2, and in both passages it seems to refer to the author's own copy; copies for the trade were probably made on papyrus. In Catullus 22. 7, it is used of parchment wrappers, to protect the papyrus rolls.

390. **nescit . . . reverti**: cf. Ep. 1. 18. 71.

391–407. Horace now gives a brief sketch of the wonders wrought by the powers of song, the purpose of which does not appear till v. 406, *ne forte*, etc. In reminding Piso of this noble chapter of history, his exhortation to earnest labor gains additional strength. — **Silvestris**: *savage* (< *silvaticus*) is the exact etymological equivalent. — **sacer**: as the priestly announcer of the divine will. Aristotle names Orpheus τὸν θεόλογον, and Vergil calls him (Aen. 6. 645) *Threicius sacerdos.* — **interpresque deorum**: cf. Plat. Ion p. 534 e.

392. **victu foedo**: *instar ferarum*, Schol. Cruq. Cf. S. 1. 3. 100. The legends that clustered around the name of Orpheus (see Class. Dict.) were so many and so incredible, that Aristotle is said (Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 38. 107) to have doubted his very existence. The extant poems that bear his name are all of later origin.

393. **dictus ob hoc**: *wherefore he was said*, etc.; these stories are considered by Horace to be typical of his real labors in civilizing the world.

394. Amphion and his twin brother Zethus were said to have built the walls of Thebes (Odys. ι 262), the stones moving to their places at the sound of Amphion's lyre. According to other author-

ities, Cadmus founded the citadel (*arx Thebana*), while Amphion and Zethus built the walls of the lower city; cf. Pausan. 9. 5. 1–3.

396. **Fuit haec**, etc.: *this of old was counted wisdom*, etc.; *sapientia* is predicate, and *haec* is explained by the following infinitives. In those days music performed the tasks of philosophy, and was the chief agency for advancing culture; *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μουσικὴν ἐκάλεσε Πλάτων καὶ ἔτι πρότερον οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν*, Strab. 10. 468.

398. **concubitu . . . vago**: *promiscuous intercourse*, S. 1. 3. 109. — **maritis**: *to wedded people*. This meaning is not solely post-classical, as Harper's Lex. states. Reference is made to the laws of inheritance, etc., that followed the recognition of the married state.

399. **leges incidere ligno**: the laws of Solon were said to have been engraved on wooden tablets, called *ἄξονες*; *aereis enim tabulis antiqui non sunt usi, sed roboreis. In has incidebant leges, unde adhuc Athenis legum tabulae ἄξονες vocantur*, Porph.

400. **divinis**: predicate, referring to *nomen*, but with its case attracted to that of *vatibus*.

401. **insignis**: sc. *fuit*. Homer needs no further comment.

402. **mares animos**: *manly minds;* cf. Ep. 1. 1. 64. Tyrtaeus was the poet-leader of the Spartans in the second Messenian war, who by his elegies and anapaestic march songs stirred the minds of his countrymen to heroic deeds. The story of his being a lame Athenian schoolmaster was probably an invention, Christ. Gr. Lit., p. 94.

403. **sortes**: not literally *lots*, but *oracles*, which were usually given in hexameters.

404. **vitae monstrata via**: in Hesiod's Works and Days, and by the gnomic poets generally, as Solon, Theognis, and Phocylides. — **gratia regum**: Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides enjoyed the favor of Hiero of Syracuse, and Thero of Agrigentum, and Anacreon was patronized by Polycrates of Samos.

405. Pieria was a strip of country to the northwest of Mt. Olympus, and one of the earliest abodes of the Muses. — **ludus**: alluding to the employment of poetry at festivals, as a source of entertainment and recreation (*operum finis*); see on Ep. 2. 1. 139.

406. **ne forte**: *of all this I would remind you, lest*, etc. In the



midst of so violent an epidemic of the writing itch (Ep. 2. 1. 177; A. P. 383), Piso would not be ashamed of poetry in itself, but would be tempted to consider it an art unworthy of special care and study, and in this way he would degrade Apollo and the muse.

407. **cantor**: as distinguished from him *qui tendit arcum*, Od. 2. 10. 20.

408–418. Returning to his previous line of thought, Horace inquires the best method of obtaining this poetic culture, whether by nature or by art, and properly decides that both must be united. 'Nowadays,' he adds, 'brag and bluster are considered all that is necessary.'

409. **vena**: *vein*, as of gold; cf. *ingeni benigna vena*, Od. 2. 18. 10.

410. **rude**: *unformed*, as *aes rude*.

411. **coniurat**: used in a good sense, as in Od. 1. 15. 7. In Cicero it has always the meaning of *conspire*.

412. The subject is illustrated from the Olympic races and the Pythian musical contests. — **metam**: the turning-post at the extremity of the course; cf. Od. 1. 1. 4.

414. **Pythia cantat**: cf. *Olympia coronari*, Ep. 1. 1. 50. At the Pythian games there was a special flute performance, called *νόμος Πυθικός*, which represented in music the contest of Apollo with the Python, and included a song of victory and a dirge over the defeated monster. It was said to have been invented by Olympus, improved by Klonas, and perfected by Sacadas of Argos, who won the first three contests after the games passed into the hands of the Amphictyons (590, 582, 578 B.C.).

416 ff. 'Nowadays the poet makes up in pretentiousness all deficiency in either natural ability or industry.'

417. **occupet extremum scabies**: Porphyrio says this is taken from the playground, just as the expressions in Ep. 1. 1. 59: *hoc ex lusu puerorum sustulit, qui ludentes solent dicere: quisquis ad me novissimus venerit, habeat scabiem.* L. Müller arranges the expression so as to form a trochaic tetrameter catalectic verse: *habeat scabiem quisquis ad me venerit novissimus.*

418. **sane**: belongs to *nescire;* in direct speech the confession would be *sane nescio versus facere.*

419–452. 'The poet must be on his guard against flatterers who will seek to buy his favors with words of praise. A critic like Quintilius will be honest with you and order changes and corrections even of the smallest trifles.' — **turbam**: the *tunicatus popellus* of Ep. 1. 7. 65. — **cogit**: *collects, gathers together.*

420. So the flatterers swarm around the rich poet, hoping to get gain from him.

421. This verse is repeated from S. 1. 2. 13; see on Ep. 1. 1. 56. — **positis**: cf. Epod. 2. 70.

422. **Si vero est**: *especially if he is one who*, etc. — **unctum**: *an elegant feast*, as Ep. 1. 15. 44, and different from Ep. 1. 17. 12. — **ponere**: *serve; apponere mensis;* cf. S. 2. 2. 23.

423. **levi**: i.e. *levi fide, without credit.* — **artis**: *entangling;* this suits *eripere* and *implicitum* better than the more accredited reading *atris, gloomy*, as Od. 4. 11. 36, *atrae curae.*

424. **internoscere**: see on Ep. 2. 2. 93.

425. **beatus**: *with all his happy surroundings.*

426. **donaris** = *donaveris.*

427. **tibi**: agent with *factos.*

428. **laetitiae**: over the gift received or expected.

429. **super his etiam**: *over these things too;* see on S. 2. 6. 3.

430. **rorem**: cf. *madidas lacrimarum rore coronas*, Ov. Met. 14. 708.

431. **conducti**: the comparison is taken from Lucilius, 808 L.; *ut mercede quae conductae flent alieno in funere praeficae multo et capillos scindunt et clamant magis.* With regard to the custom, Schol. Cruq. says, *apud antiquos erant mulieres quae dicebantur praeficae, quae mortuos quoque pretio conductae plorabant.* The masculine seems to be used here in a generic sense as denoting a class of persons. Acro adds that this practice was customary in his day, "*in quibusdam provinciis,*" and Porphyrio says it was still current at Alexandria. Keller (Epileg.) speaks of a similar custom at Ulm prevalent up to the present century.

433. **derisor**: *a flatterer*, who is at the same time a scoffer.

434. **urgere cululis**: *ply with bumpers.*

435. **torquere mero**: *and rack with wine;* cf. *vino tortus*, Ep. 1. 18. 38.

437. **sub volpe latentes**: i.e. *crafty and deceitful.* There is no need for the poet ever to be deceived. The flatterer will praise everything; the true critic and friend will do as Quintilius.



438. **Quintilio**: this was Quintilus Varus of Cremona, the special friend of Vergil, whose death in 24 B.C. is remembered so beautifully by Horace in Od. 1. 25. Possibly Horace knew by experience how helpful a critic he was. — **recitares**: for the form of conditional sentence, cf. A. & G. 309. a.

439. **negares**: another protasis, without *si.*

441. Bentley took offence at the mixing of the two figures of the lathe and the anvil; but we are distinctly informed that the *tornus* was used in working metal (Vitruv. 10. 12), and it would be quite proper for a piece of metal on which the lathe had made a failure to be handed back to the anvil and hammered into shape, that a new start might be made.

442. **vertere**: for *delere*, by a slight metonymy, for the expression usually is *vertere stilum.*

444. **quin**: depending on the idea of hindering involved in *nullam operam insumebat.* — **sine rivali . . . solus amares**: indicating the highest self-satisfaction; cf. Cic. ad Quint. Fratr. 3. 8. 4, *O di quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali! Rivalis* was a colloquial or plebeian word that was usually avoided, its place being supplied by *aemulus.* Its use here and in Cicero seems to indicate that the expression *sine rivali se amare* was proverbial.

445. The habits of Quintilius are enlarged to a general picture of a faithful critic, and this second picture gradually assumes the features of Aristarchus. — **inertis**: *without art*, and so *weak.*

446. **duros**: *rough.* — **incomptis**: *inelegant*, the same as *incultis*, Ep. 2. 1. 233. — **atrum**: with double meaning; see on v. 423. Kiessling suggests that there is allusion to the black *theta*, which was the mark of condemnation, being used for an older C (*condemno*); it was also employed in lists of names to mark any one as deceased, being the first letter of θάνατος. See Gildersleeve, on Pers. 4. 13.

447. **transverso**: *calamo in transversum ducto*, Schol. Cruq. The *signum* was a straight horizontal line, the δβελος, used by Aristarchus to designate a spurious Homeric verse. — **recidet**: taken from gardening, as *luxuriantia compescet*, Ep. 2. 2. 123.

450. Aristarchus (156 B.C.), the greatest critic of antiquity,

established the text of Homer practically as we have it now. The school of criticism that he founded at Alexandria continued for several centuries. Much of his labor is preserved to us in the scholia of the Homeric manuscript, called Venetus A, first published by Villoison, 1788.

451. **seria . . . in mala**: the serious evils are immediately indicated by drawing a picture of a mad poet, the terror of the street, with which Horace closes the poem. As this madness is caused not by any harsh criticism, but by his own self-elation, it seems impossible for us to refer *derisum semel exceptumque sinistre* to some slight that he is to receive when he appears in public. Rather must it be understood of the treatment which the critic himself is going to give him; so we translate with Yonge, "once flattered and treated uncandidly." For *derisum* in this signification, cf. *derisor*, v. 433.

453–476. 'A poet self-deceived is mad and as dangerous as a deadly disease. He has, too, the adhesive power of a leech.' — **morbus regius**: *the jaundice*. Celsus derives the name from the fact that the remedies were very costly, and only within reach of the wealthy. Why Horace thought it contagious we do not know; such is not the case.

454. **aut . . . Diana**: "Like some roaring fanatic whose mind has been phrensied by Diana." — **fanaticus error**: phrensy was a state almost natural to the priests of Bellona, and often seized those of other deities; its connexion with religion is indicated by the term *fanaticus* < *fanum*. See Mayor, on Juv. 4. 123. — **iracunda Diana**: Diana is here identified with Luna, whose influence on persons suffering from mental aberration is one of the earliest superstitions of medicine. The Greeks spoke of such persons as σεληνιακούς, σεληνοβλήτους.

457. **sublimis**: *with head on high.* — **ructatur**: *spouts out.*

458. **auceps**: alluding probably to some story that parodied the account of Thales's falling into a well while gazing at the stars.

459. **longum clamet**: imitating the Homeric expression μακρὸν ἄυσεν, Il. Γ. 81; it means to call out so that the sound reaches far.

461. **Si curet quis**: editors before Bentley, for the most part, changed the order, and read *si quis curet* in spite of the manuscripts. Bentley observed that it was the practice of Horace, in



repeating a word, not to allow the accent to fall in the same place; *tollere cúret. Si curét quis.*

462. **prudens** = *providens, with eyes open, on purpose.*

465. **Empedocles**: cf. Ep. 1. 12. 20. The story of his death here given was plainly an invention, but it was a very old one, as it has been traced back to Heraclides Ponticus, a pupil of Plato. For English readers it has been glorified in Matthew Arnold's poem, "Empedocles on Etna." Empedocles's main work was a poem περὶ φύσεως, which was largely the basis of Lucretius's poem *de rerum natura*. — **frigidus**: *in cold blood;* as Greenough well says, "a grim joke."

467. **occidenti**: dative after *idem*, as the Greek uses the dative after ταὐτό. Cf. Ep. 1. 20. 16. Note the spondee in the fifth foot, — the only instance in the Satires or Epistles.

468. **Nec semel**: this is not the first time he has done this. — **iam**: not temporal = *mox*, but like δή, *then surely.*

470. His verse-making must certainly be a curse inflicted on him by the gods for some heinous crime.

471. **patrios cineres**: grave-stones often bore inscriptions begging that the graves be not polluted; cf. *quisquis huic sepulchro nocere conatus fuerit manes eius eum exagitent*, Wilm. 271. — **bidental**: a place struck by lightning was inclosed with a wall and consecrated by sacrificing sheep (*bidentes*). Cf. S. 2. 6. 35; Pers. 2. 27; Juv. 6. 587.

472. **certe**: however this may be, certainly he is mad, and is avoided by every one (*indoctum doctumque*), like a bear that has broken the bars of his cage.

476. **hirudo**: as usual, Horace prefers apposition to comparison.

# CRITICAL APPENDIX.

SATIRE 1. 1. 4. *gravis armis* is a conjecture of Bouhier, published in 1715, zealously defended by many scholars, as F. A. Wolf, Reisig, Teuffel, and quite lately by Schütz, Krüger, and L. Müller. But the explanation of the manuscript reading, *gravis annis*, as given in the notes, is perfectly satisfactory, and renders all change unnecessary.

SATIRE 1. 1. 38. **sapiens**: many Mss. read *patiens;* but it is the sensible use the ant makes of its treasures, not its endurance, that is held up as an example to man. Cruquius's Mss. have *sapiens.*

SATIRE 1. 1. 79. *optarem* has better manuscript authority, and could mean *I would desire, were I in your place;* but *semper* requires a general sense, which is best served by *optarim.*

SATIRE 1. 1. 81. *adflixit* has much better manuscript authority, but does not seem to be the true reading. In S. 2. 2. 79 the same variation occurs, though there *adfigit* has the better authority. *Adfigere lecto, fasten to one's bed,* is attested by Seneca, Ep. 67. 2, *ago gratias senectuti quod me lectulo adfixit; adfligere* with the dative means *to dash violently down, inflicting injury,* a sense inappropriate to this connexion; for examples of its proper use, cf. Ov. Met. 12. 139; Tac. Ann. 4. 45; Hist. 1. 41.

SATIRE 1. 1. 88. This is a most difficult passage. The Mss. have *an si, at si, ac si, ut si,* while editors have emended by reading *an sic, at sic, aut si, nec si,* etc., or by changing the order of the lines. Bentley says, *salebrosus sane locus unde haud facile est pedem inoffensum referre;* Palmer reads *at si,* and explains the comparison with the ass by saying, "The effort would be too

much against the grain, — you might as well try to teach an ass to gallop." The *avarus* is thus at the same time both ass and rider. Tycho Mommsen suggests, "You would lose your labor, for no one would believe you. Every one would show himself intractable as the ass you might try to train." But the ass can be trained to obey the reins, though it is a question whether, in the case Horace has in mind (*in campo*), it would pay. We prefer to read *an si* with Bentley, Ritter, Keller and Holder, Kiessling, Orelli, and others. The miser, thinking that his money brings him all things, either supposes that it brings love too, or else feels that it is not worth while to strive to retain any one's affection. This reading, besides having decidedly the best manuscript authority, was the one followed by Porphyrio, who adds this explanation: *an te putas ita operam perdere, si cognatos, quos tibi sine labore tuo natura tribuit, retinere volueris sive amicos servare, ut si qui velit asinum frenis regere ut equi fungatur officio.* Bentley comments thus: *An miraris, quod te non ament cognati; quos tu nulla benignitate conciliare tibi studeas? An potius nihili facis a cognatis amari; et omne quod ad demerendos eos impendi debet, male locatum et perditum iri putas? quasi si asinum traderes magistro, qui in Campo eum instituat "Insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos?"* (Verg. Georg. 3. 117).

Satire 1. 1. 95. The reading of the text is given in accord with the Mss. and prevailing editions; at the same time I cannot forbear expressing my preference for Bentley's emendation, which is adopted by Palmer: *Ummidius, qui tam (non longa est fabula) dives*, etc. In this way asyndeton is avoided, and *dives* and *sordidus* are equally balanced.

Satire 1. 1. 108. The text reading is that of the Blandinian V. Most Mss. have *nemon ut avarus*, which gives an impossible meaning to the passage, viz., *Can it be thought that no miser is satisfied?* implying, *certainly not; the miser is sometimes satisfied.* Many editors read *nemo ut avarus*, which has very poor manuscript authority, and makes an intolerable hiatus.

Satire 1. 4. 39. **poetas** has better manuscript authority than *poetis*, but Acro, commenting on S. 1. 6. 25, and quoting this passage, gives the reading *poetis*. This may be the correct reading,



as it accords with Horace's usage elsewhere; cf. Od. 1. 31. 17; S. 2. 3. 190; Ep. 1. 16. 61; A. P. 372; S. 1. 1. 19; 1. 2. 51; 2. 6. 25.

Satire 1. 4. 79. **inquit**: the third person is in accord with wide and prevailing usage, as was shown by Bentley; *inquis* has slightly better manuscript authority, but arose probably through the influence of the second person in *gaudes* and *facis*.

Satire 1. 4. 87. **amet**: given by Cruquius as the reading of one of the Blandinian *codices* and rightly substituted by Bentley for the vulgate *avet*, which is much less appropriate in meaning as in mood.

Satire 1. 4. 141. **veniet**: the fut. is more vivid and therefore more forcible, but *veniat* has decidedly better manuscript authority.

Satire 1. 5. 1. **accepit**: another reading, almost equally attested, is *excepit*, which is used in this sense, but more rarely; cf. Livy, 38. 41.

Satire 1. 5. 36. A variant of *vatillum* is *batillum*, which is found in a number of Mss. This form was changed by Bothe to *bacillum*, who read *pruni bacillum*, "*a staff of plumwood.*" Cicero (de Leg. Agr. 2. 34. 93) calls the *fasces* used by provincial magistrates *bacilla*, and in that sense *pruni bacillum* would mean *with plumwood mace.* But there is no sufficient reason for leaving the reading *vatillum*.

Satire 1. 5. 61. **laevi . . . oris**: Kiessling conjectures *levis oris*, *smooth, unbearded face*, which contrasted comically with his low, shaggy, forehead. This allows *in faciem iocatus* of v. 62 to have its own meaning independent of *in Campanum morbum.* L. Müller emends by reading *laeve, foully disfigured.*

Satire 1. 6. 75. The reading of the text, first restored by Keller and Holder, is supported by the best Mss. and by Schol. Cruq., who says: *singulis Idibus referebant octonos asses aeris pro mercede scholastica.* This reading is now adopted by most of the editors. Another reading, with inferior manuscript authority, is *octonis . . . aera.* This was taken by some of the older editors, as Lambinus, Torrentius, Cruquius, Heindorf, as referring to arithmetical problems which the boys took home to work out, "interest

calculated up to the Ides." This is now given up on all sides; *Idibus aera* for *usuras Idibus solvendas* is strange Latin, to put it mildly, and *octonis Idibus* is a poser. C. F. Hermann suggested the following interpretation in a Marburger Progr., 1838: "*bringing their tuition fees on eight Ides in the year*," i.e. four months were holiday. The fact of the vacation he thought to support from a passage in Martial (10. 62), which is, however, capable of a different construction. Hermann's interpretation was generally accepted until Holder gave currency to the new reading. For a long and careful discussion of this passage, see Becker, Gallus, II. p. 87 ff. By consulting only the old English edition, Palmer wrongly quotes this work as favoring the reading *octonis . . . aera*.

Satire 1. 6. 102. **peregreve**: nearly all Mss. have *rusve peregre aut*, which is evidently a sacrifice of grammar for the sake of meter. The correct reading was restored by Aldus.

Satire 1. 6. 126. This passage, like S. 1. 1. 108, is a crucial test for the value of the Blandinian Mss. The reading in our text is given by Cruquius from V, and is confirmed by the younger descendant of this group, Gothanus. All the other Mss. have *fugio rabiosi tempora signi*. To Bentley is due the credit of overthrowing this reading and establishing the authority of V. Since Bentley this has been the vulgate, till Keller and Holder, with their marked contempt for V, restored *rabiosi tempora signi*, and endeavored to show how the Blandinian reading arose from a corruption. In spite of Keller's learned note in the Epilegomena, his reading has been adopted lately only by Dillenburger. The interpretation proposed is "*the meridian heat of the sun*," for which the Latin expression is certainly a curious equivalent.

Satire 1. 10. 27. **oblitus**: Bentley conjectured *oblitos*, referring it to *eos*, which he supplied as the subject of *intermiscere*. But the emphatic position in which it stands and the close connexion with *tibi peragenda* can be justified only by keeping the manuscript reading and referring it to *tu*. —**Latini**: a few Mss. read *Latine*, and this was the favored reading of most editors from Lambinus to Bentley. Quite recently, too, it has been adopted by Palmer and Wickham. But *Latine causas exsudare* passes the bounds even of figurative language.



Satire 1. 10. 37. Kiessling reads *diffingit*, which has inferior manuscript authority, and which has been generally discarded since Bentley. As Bentley says: *Perperam itaque agunt, qui diffingunt hic in suis editionibus reponunt. Hoc enim non male fingere, ut quidem putant, sed fictum corrumpere notat, ut* Carm. 3. 29. 47.

Satire 1. 10. 68. *dilapsus* has better manuscript authority than *dilatus*, but is altogether senseless; it is corrected by Keller and Holder into *delapsus*.

Satire 2. 1. 1. **videar**: Kiessling prefers the indicative, but the best Mss. have the subjunctive.

Satire 2. 1. 15. **describit**: there is equal manuscript authority for *describat*. The indicative is supported by A. P. 263 and Ep. 1. 17. 36.

Satire 2. 1. 31. Not only the Blandinian, but most of the other Mss., have *gesserat*, while there is only inferior authority for *cesserat*. The latter is, however, undoubtedly the correct reading, for *male gerere* without *rem* is not Latin at all, while *cedere* is so used; cf. *ex quo res bene ac prospere populo Romano cessit*, Gell. 4. 5. 4; *Quin dedis te, utcumque cesserit, meliorem fortunam deditus quam hostis habiturus*, Curt. 7. 4. 16.

Satire 2. 1. 65. The reading of the text, *et qui*, is the one approved by Bentley, L. Müller, Haupt, Orelli minor, Kiessling, and Keller. Many other editors prefer *aut qui*, which has slightly better manuscript authority. Though Bentley's objection that two subjects connected by *aut* could not have a plural verb does not hold good (cf. Cic. de Off. 1. 41. 148; de Or. 2. 4. 16), still we prefer to read *et qui*, especially since *aut* is often found in the Mss. as an improper variant of *et;* e.g. Od. 1. 12. 15; 2. 11. 1; 3. 24. 26; Epod. 5. 3; S. 2. 3. 183.

Satire 2. 1. 79. **diffingere**: the Mss. are about equally divided between *diffingere* and *diffindere*, which latter reading is preferred by Kiessling. But *diffindere* means *to split off* in a literal sense, and no parallel can be found for the general way in which it is used here. On the other hand, *diffingere* = *mutare, transformare, labefactare* affords a simple and easy interpretation, and is naturally preferred by most of the editors.

SATIRE 2. 5. 21. Kiessling and L. Müller accept *tulit* for *tuli*, a conjecture made by Horkel, Anal. Hor. p. 126, because that more nearly represents Hm. Od. *v.* 18. This is true, yet it is hardly sufficient reason to justify us in leaving the Mss.

SATIRE 2. 5. 100. **sit**: Bentley preferred *esto*, the reading of a few inferior Mss., because this is the form regularly used in wills. There can be little question that *sit* is the correct reading; for, while it is easy to see how a copyist might change *sit* to *esto*, the reverse is hardly conceivable. Again, Horace is not using the technical legal expressions, or he would have avoided *quartae partis*. Fractions are designated in Latin by the divisions of the as, and so an heir in a will is *heres ex asse*, *ex semisse*, *ex triente*, *ex quadrante*, etc. The words of the will itself were, *Ulixes heres ex quadrante esto*.

SATIRE 2. 6. 29. The reading of the text is the one preferred by Kiessling, and is due to an emendation of Bentley. I have allowed it to stand, though by no means sure that it is the correct reading. The best Mss. have *quid tibi vis, insane, et quas res agis? improbus urget*, etc., thus making the verse too long. A few Mss. omit this *tibi*, which is probably the correct version of the line. Cruquius omits *tibi*, and this would seem to have been the reading of V. Bentley insists on *quid tibi vis* because it is such a common expression, but this is the very reason why it found its way improperly into the text; *quas res agis* Bentley changes to *quam rem agis*, which also occurs very frequently. The elision in *rem agis* conflicts with a law laid down by L. Müller, "that long monosyllables or monosyllables ending in *m* cannot, outside dramatic poetry, be elided before a short syllable." This law is rejected in this case by Lehrs, Kiessling, and others, who hold that this is an expression of daily life, *sermo cotidianus*, and that it is perfectly natural that it should suffer the same elision here which we know it regularly suffered in comedy. Compare, too, the elision of *te* in S. 1. 3. 22 before a short syllable, and the frequent elision of monosyllables in the Satires. See Introduction, p. xxi.

SATIRE 2. 6. 59. The manuscript reading is *perditur*, which, if it be genuine, is the only classical example of the pres. pass. of *perdo*, *pereo* generally taking its place. Keller and Holder, and a number of other editors, retain it, however. Keller thinks it may have been common as a vulgar form, for it reappears in late writers. *Mergitur* is a conjecture of Madvig and Krüger. This reading is confirmed by three passages in Sen., viz., Phaedr. 687; Med. 884; Thyest. 776. Lachmann conjectured *porgitur;* cf. Verg. Aen. 8. 274. L. Müller reads *deperit*.



EP. 1. 1. 78. **frustis**: another reading frequently found is *crustis*. Undoubtedly this contrasts better with *pomis*, but, as *frustis* has so much better manuscript authority, there is no sufficient reason why we should not retain it.

EP. 1. 2. 10. Kiessling prefers the reading, *quod Paris, ut*, etc., which has been adopted by a number of editors since Bentley undertook its defense. His interpretation is as follows: *which thing*, i.e. that he should restore Helen, and so end the war, *he will not do in spite of their urgency, even to this end that he save his kingdom and life*, i.e. *even though he could thus save himself.* The clause *ut . . . beatus* depends, therefore, on *quod*, as if we had *hoc facere etiam ut*, etc. The reading given in the text seems more pointed, more Horatian, and has better manuscript authority.

EP. 1. 2. 31. Kiessling's explanation of this passage as given in the notes agrees with that of Schütz, and is the clearest that has yet been given. Bentley's emendation, *cessantem*, is thus shown to be unnecessary. The reading of our text is supported by the Blandinian Mss., while most others have *curam* in the place of *somnum*.

EP. 1. 7. 2. **Atqui**: the majority of Mss. have *atque*, but confusion of these two words in the Mss. is so very common that but little weight need attach to this fact.

EP. 1. 7. 29. **nitedula**: this is Bentley's brilliant emendation for the Ms. *volpecula*. Foxes do not eat corn, nor stay about a house; if the hole were large enough for the fox to creep through, surely the corn would spill out; and a fox does not generally need the tuition of a weasel. Furthermore, St. Jerome mentions a fable of Aesop in which it is a mouse that creeps through a hole and cannot return on account of his stuffing; *docet et Aesopi fabula*

*plenum muris ventrem per augustum foramen egredi non valere*, ad Salvinam, Ep. 9. To this it is answered by defenders of the manuscript reading that animals in fables often play parts inconsistent with their natures, as the fox and the grapes, etc. This is true, but, as Kiessling well remarks, it occurs only when the conduct of the animals is merely a masking of human nature, so that they act for men. In this case no such explanation is possible. We, therefore, assume that Horace wrote *nitedula*, and that *volpecula* is an interpolation. The manner in which this may have occurred is suggested by Ribbeck. There was another fable of Aesop (Aesop, 31; Babrius, 86; Dio Chrysost. 47. 20) in which the fox appears in a situation sufficiently similar to that of the mouse here to admit of comparison. Some *glossator*, remembering that fact, wrote above *nitedula* the word *volpecula*, which was then taken by thoughtless transcribers as a genuine correction.

Ep. 1. 10. 13. **ponendaeque domo**: the reading of the Blandinian Mss. was *ponendaque domo*, but this has generally been discarded for the more common version. The ablative is not altogether a syntactical monstrosity, and has been defended by H. Sauppe, Philologus, 19. p. 253 ff.; but the dative is more natural, and, aside from the rare form *domo*, offers not the slightest difficulty.

Ep. 1. 10. 24. **expelles**: there is very scant manuscript authority for *expellas*.

Ep. 1. 16. 5. **si dissocientur**: this is, as Keller well says, a *crux criticorum*. The reading in the text does not lack manuscript authority, and has been elaborately defended by Keller, Epilegomena. In spite of this, however, it has been adopted by no editor save Kiessling. The more usual reading, *ni dissocientur*, makes *continui montes* the apodosis, and leaves *temperiem laudes* standing alone. The tense of *dissocientur*, too, according to that interpretation, is harsh, and the whole statement seems still, as it seemed to Cruquius, almost *inane*.

Ep. 1. 20. 24. **solibus aptum**: though this is the only Ms. reading of any weight, yet many of the editors have objected to it on linguistic grounds. Passages in which *aptus* is used in somewhat similar meaning have been cited from Ov. Met. 3. 596, Lucret. 6. 961; but these cases are not completely analogous. More to the point are two passages from Horace himself, cited by Wilkins and Kiessling: *aptus amicis*, S. 2. 5. 43, and *aptus acutis naribus*, S. 1. 3. 29. A full discussion of the emendations that have been proposed may be seen in Krüger's Appendix. The least offensive of these are Meineke's *solis amicum* and Ribbeck's *lusibus aptum*.



Ep. 1. 20. 28. **collegam . . . dixit**: this is the reading of only one, and that an unimportant Ms.; the others are unanimous for *duxit*. Doering was the first editor to adopt *dixit*, and he has been followed by Meineke, L. Müller, Keller, Haupt, and Wilkins. The phrase *ducere collegam* occurs nowhere else, nor has any similar employment of *ducere* been cited save the far-fetched *ducere uxorem*. On the other hand, *dicere collegam* is the regular technical expression for just such cases, i.e. where one of the consuls is lacking, and an election must be held by the other to fill the vacancy; cf. Liv. 7. 24; 37. 47. In view of this fact then, and the additional circumstance that *dicere* and *ducere* vary often in our extant Mss., I have no hesitancy in reading *dixit*.

Ep. 2. 1. 198. **nimio**: this is the reading of V and some of the best of the other Mss. The other reading, *mimo*, is difficult if *mimus* be taken to mean a play, and more difficult still if it be interpreted as equal to *histrio*, a use which cannot be paralleled elsewhere. Keller, after deciding in his Epilegomena for the expression *nimio plura*, which is indeed quite Horatian, adopts *mimo* in the Keller-Hauesner edition.

Ep. 2. 2. 16. **laedit**: this is the reading of V against the great body of Mss., which have *laedat*. That *laedit* should have been altered by copyists into *laedat* to correspond with the other subjunctives is easily conceivable, but the opposite change would be almost inexplicable. The indicative has been accepted by most editors since it was adopted by Bentley. Keller and Holder stick to *laedat*, of course.

Ep. 2. 2. 70. Many editors have taken offense at the interpretation here made necessary for *humane*, and have tried various emendations. The only one that has met with any approval is that of

Fröhlich, who substitutes *haud sane* for *humane*. This, in the form of *haut sane* or *hau sane*, has been accepted by Keller, L. Müller, and Lehrs. The conjecture is justified by supposing in the original a few letters to have fallen out or become illegible, so that out of HAUTSANE resulted H UI ANE; this would then very naturally be corrected into HUMANE. Keller quotes, by way of a parallel, Ter. Ad. 783, *Edepol commissatorem haud sane commodum*. This he thinks perfectly convincing.

Ep. 2. 2. 87. From the days of Bentley this verse has been an offense in the eyes of editors, and they have tried to mend it in various ways. The simplest emendation is that of Schütz, who for *frater* reads *fautor*, which is more suited in meaning and could more easily be followed by a consecutive sentence than *frater*. Meineke supplied a whole verse, and read:

> **Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor (uterque**
> **Alterius laudum sic admirator) ut alter, etc.**

This Horace certainly did not write.

Ep. 2. 2. 89. The Mss. all have *hic ut*, but in the edition of Britannicus, 1516 A.D., the correction to *huic* was made, which has received all but universal acceptance.

Ep. 2. 2. 212. **levat**: the authority for this reading is primarily three of the Blandinian Mss. It was first defended by Bentley, and has been adopted by most editors as giving a more pointed meaning than the other manuscript reading, *iuvat*.

A. P. 101. **adflent**: the Mss. are unanimous for *adsunt* (or *assunt*), which is capable of a very proper interpretation in the sense of *uphold, support;* cf. A. P. 204; Ep. 1. 19. 57. But this certainly blunts the thought, which is, that a strong emotion will call up the same feeling in others. We do better, therefore, to accept Bentley's emendation, which suits the sense admirably.

A. P. 172. This line has been the subject of much controversy. Aristotle, in the passage that Horace, in part at least, is following, calls old men δυσέλπιδες, i.e. *slow to form hopes*, a meaning which Forcellini, followed by Orelli and Harper's Lex., assumes for the



phrase *longus spe*. Bentley saw that the phrase could not bear that interpretation, and desiring to reach the same end, proposed *lentus spe*, which would again mean '*tenacious of hope*,' rather than what he wanted it to mean. Bentley also substituted *pavidus* for *avidus*.

A. P. 197. **pacare**: all the best Mss. have *peccare*, but this is merely an otiose repetition of *bonis faveat*, whereas *pacare* gives a turn to the line which is thoroughly delicate and appropriate; *calm the passionate and soothe the fearful*.

A. P. 294. The reading *praesectum* is that of the Blandinian Mss., and owes its currency to Bentley. It is altogether the harder reading, and so more apt to be genuine. Most of the Mss. have *perfectum*, which would agree with *quod* and be used proleptically after *castigavit, corrected to perfection*.

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